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Discrepancies Between Government Programs and Community Practices: The Case of Recreation in the Northwest Territories

by

© Victoria Anne Paraschak

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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Supervisor

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External Examiner

April 15, 1983
Date

DEDICATION

To Fred Paraschak, my grandfather, who chose to tackle unknown horizons...

and to Kayley, Tyler, Justin, Ian, Margie, Alec, Rodney, Thomas, Mark, Debbie and others - that they may do the same.

Abstract

Three aspects of the foundation underlying government programs for NWT recreation have been examined: 1) the type of activities supported by government, 2) the rationale for government support and 3) the delivery system in place. These practices were then compared to the recreation patterns of three communities in the NWT -- Ft. Franklin, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. These communities lie on an acculturative continuum with Ft. Franklin the least impacted by southern Canada, and Inuvik the most similar to the South. Inuvik was best able to use the government recreation programs available. This is because the government system is based on a southern Canadian model for recreation which people from Inuvik were best able to understand and use.

Three discrepancies arose from this examination. 1) Although governments provide for both sport and traditional activity opportunities, the leadership development required to continue such activities is only evident for sport: 2) While government supports recreation as a right of all Canadians, this approach treats recreation as a discrete aspect of life. The smaller communities view life holistically, and do not separate recreation from the other, interlinked aspects of their life. 3) The delivery system in place is modelled after southern Canada, where community recreation is delivered through the municipal government and sport through volunteer sport associations. This "guided" approach has been encouraged by government, but has not proved effective in the smaller communities. It has also led to an increased dependency on government for direction, rather than encouraging the development of independent systems appropriate to the community situation.

Recommendations were provided in light of these discrepancies, for two different northern situations 1) the northern frontier and 2) the northern homeland. All recommendations worked toward a greater sensitivity to the needs of native communities in the North. Recommendations for the "northern frontier" were based on the continuation of the existing government system, and included

1) greater emphasis on community level recreation
2) a more holistic treatment of social concerns by government departments
3) development of regional recreation committees responsible for both sport and traditional activities.

Recommendations for the "northern homeland" were grounded on the assumption that native people must direct their own recreation development. The suggestions included

1) development by native people of a community leaders program sensitive to traditional ways, yet able to understand euro-Canadian systems of government
2) a more holistic treatment of social concerns which included discretionary funding for use by each community
3) modification of present delivery channels so that they better address the needs of native people.

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Some theses require more teamwork than others. The nature of this study demanded that people not only cooperate, but that they support me as I fumbled through the learning process. Some of the people include

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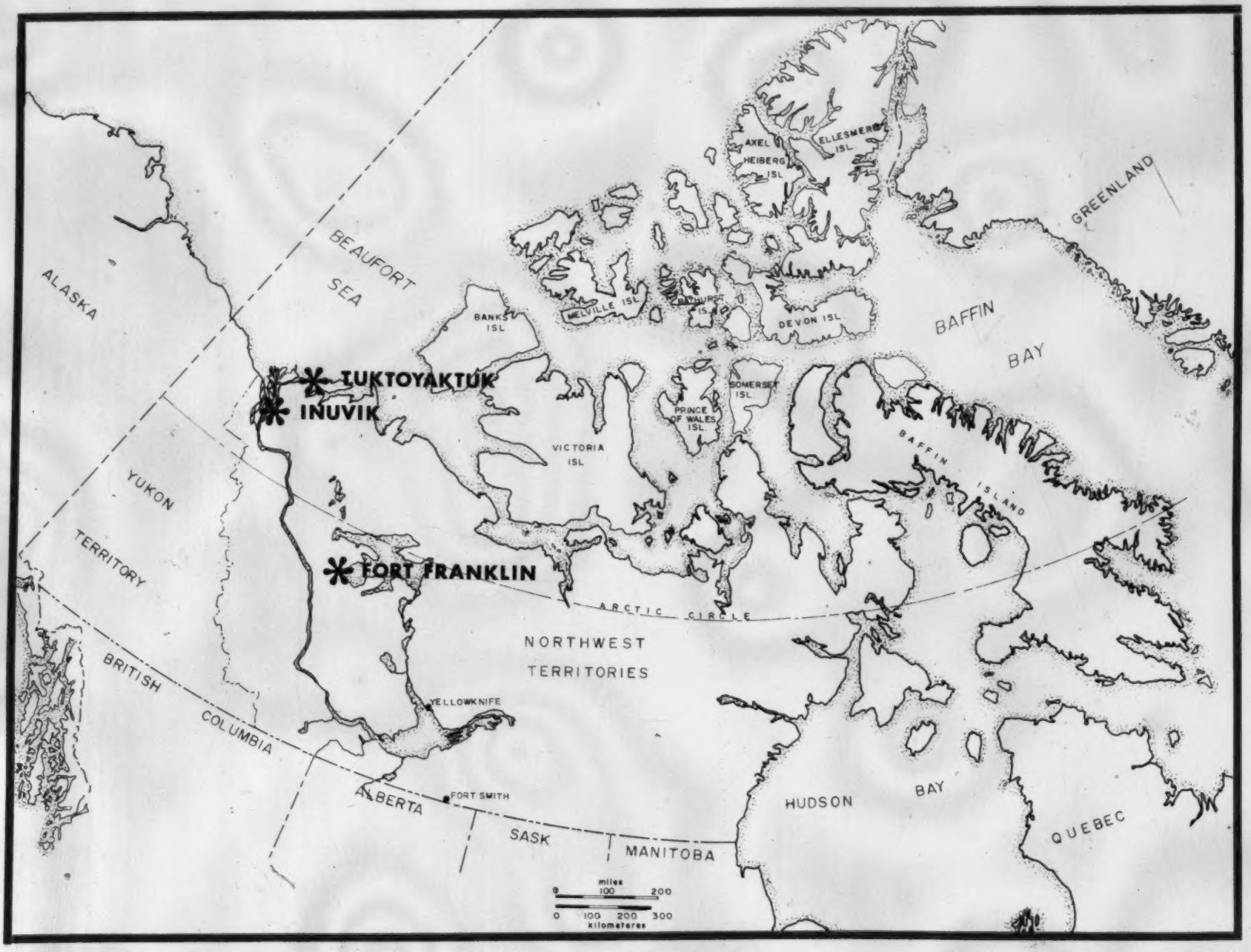
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Arctic Winter Games	AWG
Baffin Region Inuit Association	BRIA
Canadian Broadcasting Company	CBC
Canadian Forces Station	CFS
Committee for the Original People's Entitlement	COPE
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development	DINA
District Early Warning Line	DEW Line
Dome Canmar	Dome
Fitness and Amateur Sport	FAS
Government of the Northwest Territories	GNWT
Hudson Bay Store	Bay
Ingamo Hall Friendship Centre	Ingamo Hall
International Order of the Daughters of the Empire	IODE
Keewatin Inuit Association	KIA
kilowatt hours	KWH
Member of the Legislative Assembly	MLA
National Coaching Certification Program	NCCP
Native Sport and Recreation Program	NSRP
Northern Games Association	NGA
Northern Service Officers	NSO's
Northern Transport Company Line	NTCL
Northwest Territories	NWT
operations and maintenance costs	O & M costs
Roman Catholic Hostel	Grollier Hall
Royal Canadian Legion	Legion
Royal Canadian Mounted Police	RCMP
Samuel Hearne Secondary School	SHSS
Short Term Employment Grant	STEP
Sir Alexander Mackenzie School	SAMS
Summer Youth Employment Grant	SYEP
Territorial Experimental Ski Training Program	TEST



NORTHWEST TERRITORIES MAP

Plate 1: Map of the NWT noting Location of Community Case Studies

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Involvement in sport and recreation has become a legitimate function of governments in Canada, as evidenced by sport, fitness and/or recreation departments situated in the federal and all provincial/territorial bureaucracies. The cornerstone Act legitimizing present federal involvement in sport and fitness was established in 1961. This piece of legislation,titled the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, made provision for funding to the provinces and territories through a clause stating:

> 5.(1) The Minister may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, enter into an agreement with any province, for a period not exceeding six years, to provide for the payment by Canada to the province of contributions in respect of costs incurred by the province in undertaking programs designed to encourage, promote and develop fitness and amateur sport (Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, 1961).

This opportunity for funding, which has now ceased, was utilized by many jurisdictions across Canada. Included among them was the Northwest Territories (NWT). In 1962, the territorial government in Ottawa signed a federal-provincial agreement allowing for the introduction of public recreation to the NWT (Recreation Division, "Sports North: A Proposal", 1975). Although similar agreements were being signed in provinces across Canada, an important distinction was present in the northern situation, because the majority of people in the NWT were native--Eskimo (Inuit), Indian (Dene) and Metis. The native way of life and view of life was very different from that of individuals residing in the rest of Canada.[1] The bureaucracy which brought organized recreation to the North was based, nonetheless, on a southern Canadian value framework,

This reality underscores the history of government involvement in NWT recreation since 1962.

Historical investigations have been completed on various government policies for fitness, sport, and recreation in Canada.[2] The content of these studies has included primarily government specific information on the reasons for involvement, the methods used in carrying out a mandate in the areas of sport and recreation, and occasionally the factors which led to the demise of such activities. Academic assessments concerning the suitability of these services for the recipients, in order to establish if governments, in fact, are meeting recreation needs with the services they are providing, have not been attempted. If policy is to be assessed, and ultimately improved, such an approach is the next logical step.

Policy studies in sport and recreation are needed which incorporate a new focus -- the community level. If government policies are established to service needs, one must establish the nature of these needs from both the government's perspective, and the recipient's perspective. Recognizing that not all communities are similar, such studies should also document the applicability of policy for a variety of settings.

Although any local communities could be used in such a study, an additional purpose can be met if specific communities are chosen. Several "marginal" societal groups have not yet been examined in terms of government policy for sport and recreation. Indeed very little has been done to understand these groups and their needs in terms of sport, recreation, and physical education generally. Campagnolo, in the 1977 green paper on sport for Canadians, placed these

groups under a miscellaneous section which included the aged, the handicapped, and residents of northern and remote areas.[3] Such "marginal" groups may share a set of cultural values which differ from those of the policy-makers, as was evident, for example, in previous research by Adams[4] concerning Inuit from Pond Inlet. If this were to prove true, it has important ramifications for policy-makers, because policy decisions are judgemental by nature. Since they are judgemental, it follows that the specific values of the policy-makers will shape the nature of the eventual policy. If such values differ markedly from those of the target group, then policies established, while seen as "good" by those in government, will not be seen as "good" by those in the target group. In light of this, it is important to examine the congruence between current policies established by the government, and their implication at the local level.

Theses by Glassford (1970), Bennington (1976) and Adams (1978) have examined changes in recreation pursuits in the NWT in light of an impinging euro-Canadian society[5] highlighting the differences between traditional recreation practices, and activities undertaken by native people today. These studies acknowledge that changes have arisen as a result of the euro-Canadian presence. It is only in evaluating the ability of government programs to meet present and future needs, however, that the above information can be utilized to improve recreation services in the North.

Statement of the Problem

This thesis investigates the congruence between government services for recreation, and community recreation practices in the NWT,

by examining the foundation upon which government programs have been structured in light of community realities. When government sets out to establish programs, two very different styles of policy-making may be used: a rational approach or an incremental approach. These styles demonstrate different characteristics, as briefly outlined below:

A) Rational: Objectives, or "ends" are chosen first, after which all legitimate alternatives are considered. Thus, the means are chosen in light of independently chosen ends. Alternatives are evaluated based on their ability to attain specified, agreed upon ends. This evaluation is carried out in a "rational" manner which employs theory.

B) Incremental: The means and the ends are considered to be linked, with a limited number of alternatives available for consideration which differ only slightly from present policies. Alternatives are evaluated by analyzing their marginal differences. Bargaining and compromise are the bases for the formulation and achievement of goals, resulting in a process of successive approximations towards objectives which are also constantly changing. Past experiences rather than "objective" analysis are employed.

Policy-making tends to be viewed as a monolithic process. When the recipients of policy are considered, however, it becomes evident that a decision-making style at one level (eg. government) may clash with and/or be unsuited for another level (eg. the community), leading to discrepancies which decrease the effectiveness of programs. For

example, what appears as "rational" to one decision-making body may be viewed as "irrational" to another.

Such discrepancies were expected to be identified through this study. Professionals working for government have been through a particular training process based on a specific body of knowledge. That knowledge is often used as a basis when identifying program objectives and outlining "rational" alternatives. This body of knowledge, however, has evolved within conditions dissimilar from traditional NWT communities.

Decision-making at the community level, conversely, seems to follow an incremental approach. Knowledge is largely based on past experiences. Means and ends are intertwined, with changes made in seemingly small, incremental stages. Yet such an approach frames decisions on any particular topic within a larger, holistic view of community life. Accordingly, one might expect that discrepancies would result between the directions set at the government level, and the community practices in NWT communities.

Three aspects of government involvement have been examined:

1. the type of activities which have been supported by government;
2. the rationale for government support of recreation;
3. the delivery system in place for government-supported recreation.

If government services are meeting community recreation needs, the following situation would be expected:

1. the recreation activities which government supports are in keeping with the activities occurring in NWT communities;

2. the rationale for government support to recreation is similar to the rationale for support to organized recreation held by community members;
3. the structural expectations placed on communities by government are realistic and facilitate the development of community recreation.

Discrepancies between government services and community needs are expected, however, when the variable of cultural differences is introduced. Chapter two outlines the duality in values existent in the North between the primarily euro-Canadian[6] government workers, and native northerners located in the more traditional communities. Since it is government workers who establish the programs and services for recreation, it is hypothesized that those programs will be structured primarily in accordance with a euro-Canadian rather than a native framework, even though they are created to meet native needs. Accordingly, the following hypothesis have been proposed for this study.

1) Type of Activity:

That the recreation activities supported by governments are primarily developed in accordance with the national approach to recreation in Canada. As a result, services are geared to the larger, more euro-Canadian communities in the North, and do not accommodate the needs of smaller, more traditional communities.

2) Government Rationale for Recreation:

That the government rationale for supporting recreation is based primarily on the recognition of recreation as a discrete and valuable aspect of life. In contrast to this, most

communities value organized recreation primarily as a means for offsetting social problems which occur in their communities.

3) Delivery System for Recreation:

That expectations placed on communities by government are oriented towards a southern Canadian, English speaking audience with well developed reading, writing and accounting skills. These expectations promote continued community dependency on government rather than individualized development of community recreation.

Definitions

Confusion begins as soon as terms such as "leisure", "recreation" and "sport" are placed in a northern context. The onset of industrialization has shaped the body of literature produced on these concepts, leading to definitions of leisure and recreation in terms of work time,[7] and the identification of sport as an institutionalized form of play.

Most communities in the North have not, as yet, experienced industrialization, although they have inherited some of the products of technology. Wage labour has been available to only a few native people on an intermittent basis, first in the mid-1950's with the construction of Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line sites, and more recently in the mining, oil and gas industries. People in these occupations, along with government employees, make up the large majority of wage earners in the NWT. Not surprisingly, such jobs are situated in only a few communities, while the majority of native people live in other communities

where wage-earning opportunities are restricted or non-existent. All of the former communities are characterized by a high percentage of euro-Canadians, while the latter communities are comprised almost totally of native people born in the NWT. Problems arise accordingly when using contemporary concepts such as leisure, recreation and sport while examining recreation patterns in NWT native communities.

Notwithstanding this, operational definitions were required in order to identify and discuss recreation activities in the North. Leisure was defined as time free from obligations either to self or to others -- time in which to do as one chooses[9] (Parker, 1971:25-32). Recreation was considered

> The natural expression of certain human interests and needs seeking satisfaction during leisure. It is an individual or group experience motivated primarily by the enjoyment and satisfaction derived therefrom. It takes many forms and may be planned or spontaneous activity[10] (McFarland, 1970:83).

Although there are a variety of expressions possible for recreation, including performing arts and crafts, the examination of NWT recreation activities was limited to "...experiences derived through sporting or other physical activities pursued for pleasure...which require an expenditure of physical energy and lead to improvement of physical well-being[11] (FAS, "Toward a National Policy on Fitness and Recreation, 1979), because these are the types of activities which community recreation groups usually organize. A definition for sport was taken from the federal "Partners in Pursuit of Excellence" document.

> Sport is a physical activity involving large muscle groups, requiring mental preparation and strategic methods and whose outcome is determined by skill not chance. It occurs in an organized, structured and competitive environment in which a winner is declared (FAS, 1979)

In accordance with this definition, sports were considered as one type of recreation activity which can vary greatly in the degree of organization and level of competition involved. Another group of recreation pursuits were classified as "traditional activities". These activities were first developed and played by native people, and are typified in annual Northern Games festivals.[12]

The term "government" has been used to represent the sponsoring body for programs operated by the federal or territorial civil service. There has been no effort to distinguish between the roles of elected members and the civil service in the creation of such programs.

References are made to euro-Canadian versus traditional communities, as well as to larger versus smaller communities. Since the traditional communities in the North are primarily small, and the euro-Canadian communities relatively large, the nature of the community has been interchanged with its size. Differences based on the size of the community, therefore, imply differences based on its specific nature -- be it traditional (small) or euro-Canadian (large).

Delimitations

Government involvement in NWT recreation has occurred in a variety of ways. Burton and Kyllo (1974), and Kyllo and Swimmer (1981) have documented on two occasions a myriad of federal departments involved in leisure services.[13] Although the same type of report could be compiled for leisure services in the NWT, the focus was limited to those federal departments which have provided funding for the major NWT recreation

programs. These departments and agencies included Fitness and Amateur Sport (FAS), Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DINA), Secretary of State, and Employment and Immigration. At the territorial level, the Recreation Division has been mandated to provide recreation services to communities; thus, the examination of Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) involvement was restricted to Recreation Division programs.

Case studies were prepared in order to examine community activities in organized recreation. Three communities were chosen, representing Inuit (Tuktoyaktuk), Dene (Ft. Franklin) and mixed Inuit/Dene/White (Inuvik) populations. These communities are all located in the western Arctic. They were chosen as case studies because of their accessibility, the population makeup, and the presence in each community of someone acquainted with the researcher, a necessary prerequisite in order to stay in the community for an extended period of time. These municipalities also lie on an acculturative continuum. Ft. Franklin has been only slightly impacted by euro-Canadians in comparison to Tuktoyaktuk, which has had extensive contact recently due to the closeness of Dome Canmar (Dome), an oil exploration company. Inuvik, developed by the federal government to serve as a regional centre, and equipped, in the main, with all the comforts of a 'southern' town, had the most acculturated population of the three case studies.

An examination of community recreation activities was further deliminated by time. Six months were spent in Inuvik, and three weeks in each of Tuktoyaktuk and Ft. Franklin,[14] during which time municipal recreation files were perused. Observing community life first-hand reinforced the fact that native people see the world through "cultural eyes" very different from the writer. Sarah Diamant spoke to such an approach.

> I realized then that this was another tremendous advantage... because, instead of sitting in your study and seeing everything through your own angle, you're getting for a brief moment inside somebody else and seeing it as they see it (Diamant, 1969:131).

Although disagreeing with her that an outsider could ever fully "get inside somebody else and see it as they see it", it does seem necessary to undertake such an approach in cross-cultural studies in order to gain an appreciation for the cultural filters of the author and the cultural values of the community members.

Participant observation was carried out while in the community, and also informally while employed as a policy officer for the Recreation Division, GNWT from July 1980-July 1982. Involvement within the government system provided a working knowledge of the programs and system underlying the GNWT Recreation Division, as well as exposure to current provincial and federal activities. This experience greatly contributed towards an understanding of the government system.

Limitations

Limited prior experience with the NWT and its people stood out as the greatest drawback when examining the problem. Although the nature of native life was examined through the printed word, it cannot replace the knowledge gained by experiencing life in the North. Time spent in the communities provided limited, but important, experiences which could easily be different from those experienced by a different researcher. Without prior exposure to recreation in the three communities examined, it was difficult to piece together comprehensive histories of organized recreation patterns. Council and/or recreation committee files were perused while in the communities; however, they were understandably

incomplete. Community members were questioned where possible, but problems of language and accessibility to a wide range of members limited the material gained in this way.

These realities led to several possible limitations. The first of these was researcher bias due to the fact that the researcher held a perspective different from that of community members, a perspective also shaped by two years as a government worker. Such an occurrence was inevitable, although discussions with northern people and a wide range of readings on native life helped to reduce this problem.

The selection of communities which were examined may have inherent limitations. The case studies chosen were not assumed to be representative of all NWT communities. Peculiarities in their nature, however, may have led to generalizations untenable in other parts of the North. This problem was countered, in part, by experience with the GNWT Recreation Division, during which time exposure to a variety of other NWT communities occurred.

Qualitative data was collected on community recreation practices. Unfamiliarity with native languages and concepts limited any possibility of devising an appropriate questionnaire pertaining to recreation practices, a method which has a limited value in the North anyway. The length of time spent in each community limited possibilities for collecting quantitative statistics on participation. Although quantitative data of this type might have contributed towards an understanding of recreation practices, a researcher able to spend a long time in one community, or already familiar with community members and their lifestyle would be more suited to undertake such an approach.

Government data sources also led to possible limitations. Extended exposure to the GNWT system has shaped the researcher's understanding of government. At the same time, such an exposure has not necessarily produced a similar understanding of the federal situation. There were initial difficulties in identifying federal civil servants responsible for funding NWT recreation programs because departmental involvement, and the individuals providing administrative support, have not been consistent. This led to a select collection of primary federal data upon which to base the federal case. Minimal GNWT data was available for the first decade of the program and individuals involved during that time were inaccessible. Notwithstanding these problems valuable data was obtained which helped illuminate the involvement of both territorial and federal governments in NWT recreation.

Methodology

Documentation was required on government programs and community practices for recreation in the NWT. Two different methodologies were utilized to obtain this information -- historical analysis and field research. While historical analysis was the primary tool for determining government programs, and field research the primary methodology for piecing together the community practices, overlaps in methodology occurred where it was deemed essential in order to obtain required information for the study.

A) Information on Government Programs

Historical analysis using primary sources provided the bulk of the data on government programs. These sources included official records,

personal records, oral statements and published materials. Secondary sources such as annual reports, program evaluations and historical accounts were used when available. The validity of these sources was checked by cross-referencing documents and interviewing individuals involved with the process. Latent content analysis was used to identify the attitude of the individuals towards the topic upon which they wrote.

While historical analysis provided much of the data for this section, two years of field research as a policy officer for the GNWT provided the author with the context for understanding. The role of participant-as-observer, whereby one participates fully with the group under study, but states an intent to research the events, occurred with GNWT recreation staff and select individuals involved in recreation. Otherwise, a role as complete participant was taken, whereby the author is viewed solely as a participant. An example of this was the experience of being an AWG coach, during which time many aspects of the AWG delivery system became evident. Likewise, the development of the recreation facilities assistance policy provided first-hand data on the process of policy-making.

B) Information on Community Practices

Field research was the primary method used for data collection. This direct observation of events at the scene of action is particularly useful when the phenomena under study can be understood adequately only in its full, natural setting.[15] It is also essential when the phenomena is not oriented towards written records -- such as the community recreation systems under study.

The role of participant-as-observer was assumed for formalized experiences. Thus, involvement as a volunteer in events such as the Northern Games, the AWG and the Top of the World ski meet was used to gain insight into the delivery of these programs. Informal recreation opportunities were most often viewed by the author in the role of a complete participant. The observer-as-participant role, whereby one is identified as a researcher and interacts with participants solely in that role, was used only when the author was unable to contribute as a participant, such as at council or recreation committee meetings.

A daily journal was maintained during the two community research periods. Observations on community recreation patterns, as well as general experiences of the author were recorded, which enabled those experiences to be used later in the portraits of community recreation.

Primary documents on recreation were collected from each municipal office and subjected to historical analysis. Unstructured interviews with community members were essential in providing additional historical material on the development of community recreation. A search of relevant literature also helped to enhance the historical account of these communities and their recreation practices.

C) Verification Techniques

The descriptions created for government programs and community practices were resubmitted to "experts" for assessment of their accuracy in the winter of 1982/83. The chief of the Recreation Division examined material on both the government programs and the community profiles. Community portraits were assessed by an individual in each community --

the coordinator to the recreation board in Inuvik, the former recreation director of Tuktoyaktuk, and the former assistant secretary manager in Ft. Franklin. These three individuals were also involved in the research process during initial community visits. The regional recreation officer for the three communities under study also commented on the portraits.

Informal discussions on the content and findings of the thesis were held with select native people familiar with government operations, and with government recreation staff. Participants in regional recreation workshops, and involvement with territorial associations in early 1983 provided reaffirmation on the recommendations which are offered, as several of the issues arose which are covered in this thesis. Despite these attempts, the interpretation naturally remains a personal one, which is fully accepted and expected in a case study approach.

Thesis Format

The author's perspective on northern society has been outlined in chapter two. This "northern frontier, northern homeland" perspective has been chosen as the framework for the thesis because it captures the basis of the discrepancies identified. The issue of discrepancies was examined by the author because of an initial belief that those who deliver government programs are not often fully aware of their clients' perspective. Such a problem would be expected especially in the North because of the difference in values of the two groups under question - the government worker, most often of euro-Canadian heritage, and the

indigenous northerner in the community. It is the author's position that government's role is to serve the needs of the clients, not to identify needs solely on the basis of professional expertise. Thus, while two viewpoints are examined, the perspective taken throughout the thesis is that the "northern homeland " needs, which stem from the lifestyle of small traditional communities, should be provided before the needs of the "northern frontiersmen". While this may seem to be discriminatory against euro-Canadians in the North, the author contends that the system inplace, which supposedly provides for the needs of all northerners, in fact discriminates against native people because it is a system which is unfamiliar to them, and which operates in accordance with a southern rather than a northern Canadian lifestyle. While euro-Canadians unhappy with the North may, and usually do, return to familiar surroundings "down South", the native northerner knows no home but the NWT. Accordingly, a system which must, by the nature of the society, provide primarily for one group to the detriment of the other, should provide for those to whom the North has served as home for thousands of years -- the native people. This "northern frontier, northern homeland" framework sets the stage for the chapters which follow, since it is hypothesized at the end of that chapter that government programs serve the "frontiersman's" rather than the native northerner's needs.

In the third chapter, major programs for sport and recreation which have been available to NWT residents are examined. A brief history of each program is provided as background, after which the 1) type of activity occurring, 2) rationale for government support, and 3) delivery system in place for the program are examined.

Chapter four presents three community case studies, Ft. Franklin, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik, in order to highlight the nature of organized recreation. After introductory remarks on each of the communities, the 1) type of activities played, 2) rationale for community involvement in organized recreation, and 3) delivery structure for organized recreation are outlined for each community.

Chapter five outlines the discrepancies which are evident between the foundation underlying government programs and the nature of community recreation. Discrepancies discussed include 1) government support to sport development versus traditional activity development, 2) recreation as a right versus recreation as a need, and 3) recreation delivery systems which promote dependent versus independent development.

Chapter six presents a summary of the preceding chapters, followed by recommendations for two different situations, 1) the northern frontier and 2) the northern homeland.

NOTES

1. Dennis Adams' thesis on Inuit Recreation and Cultural Change documents Tununirmiut Inuit values, including their leisure ethos. Asen Balikci's Vunta Kutchin Social Change; A Study of the People of Old Crow, Yukon Territory documents the value framework of Loucheux (Dene) people. These two works capture the different value framework embodied in northern natives compared to southern Canadians.

2. A selection of theses pertaining to Canadian government involvement in sport and recreation include Richard Baka, "A History of Provincial Government Involvement in Sport in Western Canada (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1978); Michael Dinning, "The Role of the Government of Canada and the Province of Ontario in the Implementation of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act 1967-1974" (MA thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1974); William Hallett, "A History of Federal Government Involvement in the Development of Sport in Canada: 1943-1979 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1981); Elsie McFarland, "A Historical Analysis of the Development of Public Recreation in Canada (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1969); Victoria Paraschak, "Selected Factors Associated with the Enactment of the 1961 Fitness and Amateur Sport Act" (MHK thesis, University of Windsor, 1978); Lorne Sawula, "The National Physical Fitness Act of Canada, 1974-1954" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1977); P. Barbara Schrodt, "A History of Pro-Rec" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1979); and David Wilkie, "Fitness and Amateur Sport Act in Alberta (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1968).

3. See Iona Campagnolo's "Toward a National Policy on Amateur Sport, A Working Paper" (1977), pp 22, 24.

4. Adams' thesis outlines a contemporary Tununirmiut value profile, which upon examination differs from the contemporary Euro-Canadian value profile.

5. Complete references for these theses are found in the bibliography.

6. "Euro-Canadian" is a term used in writings on the North, which distinguishes native Canadians from those whose ancestors immigrated from Europe (primarily) to Canada. Implicit in this term is the idea that euro-Canadians maintain a value framework different from native people due to their differing ancestries. Equivalent terms are 'whites' and 'others'. "Southern Canada" as a term denotes all parts of Canada south of the 60th parallel ie south of the NWT.

7. John Myerscough, in "The Recent History of the Use of Leisure Time", notes that

> The modern concept of leisure is a product of nineteenth century industrialization. This does not mean to say that recreation and play had not existed earlier...Rather, the new

> ways of allocating time and the changed perceptions of work, which industrialism brought, gave free-choice non-pecuniary activities, undertaken in time off work, a fresh social meaning (Appleton, 1974:3).

Even recent concepts of theory which purport a holistic approach to leisure services discuss that approach within the context of industrialized communities (eg. Murphy and Howard, Delivery of Community Leisure Services: An Holistic Approach, 1977).

8. Allen Guttmann, in From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports, defines sport as "playful physical contests" (7), yet characterizes modern sport with seven distinguishing traits which assume an institutionalized form including 1) specialization of roles, 2) rationalization, 3) bureaucratic organization, 4) quantification, 5) secularism, 6) equality of opportunity to compete and in the conditions of competition, and 7) the quest for records (pp 15-55). Jean-Marie Brohm, in Sport--A Prison of Measured Time, and Michael Novak in The Joy of Sports, both come from different perspectives on the nature of sports, but the assumption underlying their arguments is sport in its institutionalized form, which is a product of industrialization.

9. This definition of leisure arises from the "life space" concept presented in Stanley Parker's The Future of Work and Leisure (pp 25-32). He defines "life space" as "...the total of activities or ways of spending time that people have" (p.25). This approach emphasizes the differences within, as well as between the work and non-work aspects of life. It includes categories which are placed in a two-dimensional time and activity scheme.

TIME	ACTIVITY		
	Constraint ⟶		Freedom
Work	work (employment)	Work obligations (connected with employment)	'Leisure in work'
Non-Work	physiological needs	non-work obligations	leisure

(Parker, p. 28)

10. This definition of recreation, cited in Elsie McFarland's The Development of Public Recreation in Canada, originated in H. Douglas Sessoms "A Glossary of Recreation Terms".

11. This definition of physical recreation is found in "Toward a National Policy on Fitness and Recreation:, put out by Fitness and Amateur Sport in 1979. It does not include that part of the original definition which suggests that physical recreation activities are pursued not solely for competitive purposes, since these types of sporting activities are also seen under the umbrella of recreation in this thesis.

12. Annual Northern Games schedules include a variety of traditional recreation pursuits, such as high kicks, one-arm reach, rope gymnastics and blanket toss. The good woman's contest provides competition using activities performed traditionally by women such as muskrat skinning, bannock making and duck plucking.

13. Burton and Kyllo's 1974 report on Federal-Provincial Responsibilities for Leisure Services in Alberta and Ontario noted 66 departments and agencies engaged in or responsible for leisure services. In 1981, a following study titled Federal Involvement in Leisure Services 1981 by Kyllo and Swimmer documented involvement by 68 departments and agencies.

14. The author was in Inuvik from May 10, 1979-August 19, 1980; February 17, 1980-March 16, 1980, April 3, 1980-April 15, 1980. Time spent in Tuktoyaktuk was from April 15, 1980-May 2, 1980. Ft. Franklin was visited from June 12, 1980-July 2, 1980.

15. See Earl Babbie's The Practice of Social Research (1979), p. 228 for his discussion on the value of field research. Chapter 8 of this text, which is devoted to the field research methodology, would be valuable reading for individuals planning to use this approach to data collection.

CHAPTER II

NORTHERN FRONTIER, NORTHERN HOMELAND: A PERSPECTIVE ON CANADA NORTH

The perspective taken on northern society greatly affects the way in which government intervention is viewed. As a euro-Canadian, the author can easily appreciate the intentions of government professionals who have chosen to work in the North. It is equally clear, however, that this "southern" perspective varies greatly from the view which many native people hold on government workers. The perspective for this thesis was chosen in light of the apparent contradiction in perspectives.

The phrase "northern frontier, northern homeland", coined by Justice Thomas Berger in his 1976 Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry,[1] captured the duality present in northern society. Southern Canadians have begun settling Canada's last frontier -- the North. When they arrived, however, they were met by native people, both Dene and Inuit, who have called the North their homeland for thousands of years. Two different perspectives on development of the North have emerged as a result of the differences in ways of life between the "frontiersman" and the native northerner.

Native people originally developed a way of life in the North which reflected their environment. Concomitant social institutions enabled the continuation of their survival as a distinct people.[2] Into this setting came the European, complete with all the material culture he could carry. Whalers, fur traders and explorers interacted with native people, and bartered european flour, cloth and guns for

furs and native expertise in northern survival.[3] The economic base of native people accordingly expanded from subsistence activities to trapping. Thus began the collection of staple goods in the North, those "...materials that are exported in relatively unprocessed form and that tend to be far and away the major source of economic activity in the area that produces them" (Dacks, 1981:13). Although this initial interaction altered the material culture and lifestyle of some northerners, it was not until european social institutions were imposed that the present colonial status[4] of the NWT became entrenched.

Religion paved the way. Missionaries travelled north with the fur trade in the mid-1800's, in order to "convert the heathen in the area that became the District of Mackenzie" (Rea, 1968:287). Schools for native children were established and run by the churches, beginning in the 1920's, with funding provided by the federal government. It was not until 1947 that the territorial Council established a policy whereby the government, and not the churches, would be responsible for providing public education (Ibid:287-28).

Whether it was the church or the government operating schools, the pattern set, whereby people outside of the NWT make decisions and develop institutions for northerners, was colonial in nature. Its imposition on the native lifestyle, however, resulted in irreversible changes to their way of life. Children were removed from their families and placed in schools operating on a "southern" system at an early age. Families eventually moved to permanent settlements in order to be closer to their children (Asch, 1977:53). Even today, students must leave their communities and live in large centres if they wish to continue their education into highschool. Students are taught a curriculum based

largely on materials from southern Canada, by teachers trained primarily in southern universitites, using processes developed for a southern clientele. Students return home inculcated with different values from those of their parents, but without the life skills normally passed on from parent to child. The gulf thereby created alienates rather than prepares returning students for eventual life in northern communities.

The "northern frontiersman" might see this as a valuable process socializing the native child for inevitable assimilation into euro-Canadian society. Apart from the cultural loss which this process promotes at present, it also negates the preparation of many students for their adult reality. A brief look at the NWT economic situation demonstrates the future awaiting most youth of the North.

There are three very different forms of economy in the North: 1) a wage economy based primarily on the extraction of local resources for metropolitan centres, 2) "traditional economic activities" entailing the export of staple goods in a manner more congruous with the native lifestyle, and 3) employment with the government. All three systems reaffirm the colonial relationship, as explained below by Dacks:

> The most important relationship created by a staple economy is the colonial link between the frontier hinterland and the staple-consuming metropolis. The essence of this relationship is that factors outside the colonial economy determine the economic viability of the staple. A northern resource only becomes a staple commodity when the factors of technology and the needs of the metropolis come together so that it is possible to extract the staple from the North at a price the South is willing to pay...the important factor is that the decision will be made outside the North in response to needs as they exist outside the North. This is the essence of economic colonialism (Dacks, 1981:14).

Wage-economy first came to native people in the NWT with the construction of the DEW Line in the mid-1950's. In a pattern now familiar to the

North, employees were used during the two-year construction period, paid an excellent salary, and then left holding newly acquired financial and material expectations but no jobs upon which they could rely to meet those expectations.[6] Mining, and oil and gas extraction have provided ongoing wage opportunities for native people since the 1960's. To benefit from these opportunities however the native workers must leave their families and their home communities and submit themselves to conditions very different from community life.[7] In choosing such a step, they turn over their future to an industry shaped by the needs of people outside the North.

An alternative to wage economy is that form of economy based on hunting, trapping and fishing pursuits, which could be considered to fall under the umbrella term "traditional economic activities".

> Hunting, fishing and trapping cannot be understood solely as economic activities. Often northern natives undertake them with little expectation of cash profit. This behavior seems irrational to the non-native observer but in reality it is perfectly reasonable: the hunter derives a spiritual as well as material benefit from being on the land. By the same token, many native people who are employed -- and therefore do not have an economic need to do so -- continue to hunt, fish or trap in their spare time or in interludes between periods of wage employment. To some extent, this can be explained in terms of the same factors that lead many non-natives to hunt and fish -- that is, to obtain free meat and to enjoy a recreational pastime. However, for the native people, the traditional tie to the land is also prominent: For them, being on the land feels right, it is a spiritually meaningful activity (Ibid:13)

Unfortunately, fur prices dropped after the Second World War while the prices of trade goods continued to rise, thereby significantly altering the viability of the fur trade (Asch, 1977:52). Since trapping can no longer provide enough money to sustain a family, people have had to supplement their incomes with government family allowance cheques, old age pensions and/or welfare. Other native northerners have sought out part or full-time wage labour in order to bolster their trapping

income. As well, as families moved into communities to be near their children, they depleted the surrounding area of furs and consequently have been forced to travel further afield to continue trapping (Ibid:54). Although trapping does not contribute substantially to the economy of the NWT, it remains an important activity to native people, along with hunting and fishing. It also remains as an economic avenue which maintains natives within rather than isolates them from their own culture.

For a few native people, and a large number of euro-Canadians, a third option to consider is working for the government. As the major employer in the North, (Dacks, 1981:19) the government provides a few jobs in every community, as well as numerous jobs in the five regional centres (Frobisher Bay, Rankin Inlet, Cambridge Bay, Ft. Smith and Inuvik) and headquarters in Yellowknife. Participating in these jobs is often as foreign an experience as other forms of wage labour for native people, since governments in the North largely mirror those found in Ottawa.

> The modern trend toward the development of large-scale bureaucratic organizations in the governments of industrialized societies is reflected in their colonial administrations...the governments and administrative agencies of colonies have been created in the image of their creators (Vidich, 1980:1).

Government, like other institutions in the North, is colonial in nature, with major decisions being made outside of the North. Euro-Canadians brought up within such a system, and trained professionally for such positions, find participation in government far easier to contend with than do native people, who find themselves forced to conform to foreign, often meaningless norms.[8] Euro-Canadians, on the other hand, find it hard to adjust to the "difficulties" of northern life, a factor which results in a predictable transiency for the majority of government employees.

Just how "difficult" is it to live in the North? Costs are far higher than those of southern Canada, especially for the smaller communities, into which food and materials must be flown or transported on the barge from Hay River or Montreal each summer.[9] Costs can be from 50 to 90 percent higher for comparable goods purchased in Edmonton (Dacks, 1981:15) which affects not only what one can eat, but also how much it will cost to construct, or eventually operate a facility. Employees from southern Canada are compensated accordingly, in that they receive subsidized housing and in many cases an isolation allowance. Native people usually stay in houses provided by the government, but which do not match the standard accorded to government residences.

People from southern Canada living in the smaller communities find themselves very isolated. If television and/or radio are available, it is likely they emanate from only one station. Few communities are on a direct plane line to southern cities, and thus travelling to the South becomes difficult. As well, permanent roads connecting communities only exist in the southwestern NWT, although a gravel road has recently been constructed which joins Whitehorse in the Yukon to the delta communities of Inuvik, Ft. McPherson and Arctic Red River. Annual ice roads are built between some communities during the winter, and boat and skidoo travel are still utilized, but all forms of travel are constrained by unpredictable and often severe weather conditions.

Life in a small northern community is also foreign to euro-Canadians. Dene communities exist south of the treeline, while Inuit people inhabit communities to the north and east of the treeline. Together native people outnumber euro-Canadians in the NWT, with approximately 13,000 Dene and Metis (28.1%), 15,500 Inuit (33.6%) and 17,500 Others (38.3%) (Devine, 1981:21). In any of the smaller communities,

the percentage of native people would approach 90 to 95%, with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Hudson Bay Manager, the Northern Canadian Power Company employee, priest, teachers, and adult educator making up the majority of "others". Common conveniences such as piped water and sewage services cannot be guaranteed. Recreation facilities for the most part are poor. Visiting among community residents is limited primarily to white visiting white, and native visiting native. There will likely be one store in town -- the Bay -- which provides a limited selection of groceries and dry goods for those more accustomed to shopping in the South. In many communities the native language is still used, especially among the older people, and cultural celebrations such as feasts and drum dances are held on occasion.

This way of life is not congruent with the "northern frontiers-man's" former lifestyle in southern Canada. Without the support of family or a familiar culture, the length of stay in a community is often tolerated by euro-Canadians in order to attain monetary benefits rather than embraced as an enriching experience. Such people usually gravitate back to southern Canada, or to one of the euro-Canadian communities in the North which were developed for southerners by southerners.[10] Here newcomers can find familiar institutions and patterns of behavior, which help them cope with northern life. This situation contrasts with native people, who may come to such a centre for a holiday, or even to live there, but who continue to identify themselves with the traditional community they consider as 'home'.

As a result of the differing preferences for lifestyle, and the differing economic opportunities available across the North a range of communities have evolved, with euro-Canadian communities at one extreme and traditional native communities at the other end. Local governing bodies might likewise be

expected to reflect this range of lifestyles. In fact, however, they have been legislated into a defined framework which is dependent on their population and taxation potential.

The development of local municipal government in the NWT began with two distinct objectives - political development and administrative development. The first initiatives were taken by the federal government, which in 1954 sent Northern Service Officers (NSO's) north to develop political awareness at the community level. Unfortunately, administrative responsibilities were soon passed on to these federal employees which placed them in the awkward position of both having control over the activities of the community, and encouraging community control of community affairs. Efforts towards the development of political awareness were quickly dropped as the NSO's took on the burden of administering a community. Advisory councils were sometimes formed to aid the administrator but these were invariably "white" representatives from the various federal agencies in the community (Bean, 1978: 130).

The Carrothers' Report in 1966 highlighted the need for a simple but formalized form of local government. At that time there were five levels of municipal development. The first three levels -- unorganized settlements (54 communities), development areas (5 communities) and local improvement districts (1 community)-- may have had local advisory councils, but were nonetheless administered by a local federal employee. The last two levels --villages (1 community) and towns (2 communities)-- were self-administered, and had councils composed of partially or fully elected community members (Morgan, 1973:74-5).

The newly formed Department of Local Government was directed to develop a more suitable system for community government. The Department

developed criteria for establishing incorporated municipalities based on their population and taxation potential. This breakdown of unincorporated settlement, followed by incorporated hamlets, villages, towns and cities coincided with the municipal structures in southern Canada. All communities were to have elected councils, although the settlement councils could only be advisory to the GNWT, since they were not legal entities and thus were, ultimately, still the wards of the territorial government. Administrative responsibilities handled by the community were to increase as the municipal status advanced. The GNWT attempted to avoid previous confusion between political and administrative development by establishing a separate Division within the Department to encourage political awareness at the community level. It was assumed that the process of political development would complement the administrative development of local Councils.

The incompatibility of these two forms of development once again became apparent. In 1977, the Research and Development Division (of the Department of Local Government), which had adopted the principle of self-determining democracy when conducting local government training workshops, was informed by the Executive Committee of the GNWT that they were to teach "guided" democracy instead.

> The research and development (had) wanted to know whether it was supposed to be working under the principle of 'self-determining' government, or guided democracy. Should it go into a community and find out what the people wanted and then teach them how to achieve it, or instead simply teach the people how to use the existing political institutions (The Yellowknifer, 27 April 1977).

The Commissioner informed the Division that political self-determination along racial lines was not tenable in the NWT because it denied minority rights, and did not fall within the scope of the Canadian constitution.

> In Canada political units are defined geographically and in any political units all residents have equal political rights without

> regard to race, colour or religion. . . within the framework of the constitution, the territorial government fully supported the 'cultural, social and economic self-determination of its native residents'. . . (Ibid).

The Commissioner also noted that he had advised the Division two years previously to shift its emphasis from the development of political awareness to adopting the existing political structures and developing appropriate management skills within the community, since

> The task of the development division. . . is to 'concentrate on the mechanism of making local government work - to make sure that the community functions smoothly and efficiently, as they should if they are to meet the aspirations, desires and hopes of the community (Ibid).

All members of the Research and Development Division subsequently resigned because they could not accept the ruling that "southern" forms of municipal government, so foreign to communities in the NWT, would nevertheless have to be instituted.

In keeping with the stated position of the GNWT, whereby local municipal councils are to be recognized as the sole legitimate representative body for the community, the GNWT Recreation Division has encouraged the development of recreation committees accountable to the community council. Underlying this development is the assumption that recreation is to become a recognized responsibility of local government. Thus, recreation resolutions or bylaws are required by the Recreation Division to signify Council's acceptance of responsibility for organized recreation.

The development of recreation committees accountable to Council is a direct extension of the "guided" development of municipal government in the North. Although three options for the structure of recreation committees[11] are provided to communities, they must, in the end, be accountable to Council. GNWT funding goes only to Council; thus,

alternative bodies in the community such as friendship centres and Band Councils must have their recreation needs brought forward to the GNWT by the local Council. Problems arise when competing needs exist. If the local Council is truly the representative voice for the community then competing needs are dealt with through the democratic process. Many communities, however, particularly Dene communities, do not perceive the municipal council as the legitimate voice of the community. The GNWT expectation that recreation committees link to Council then becomes a problem, because it reduces rather than enhances the effectiveness of the recreation committee to meet community needs. Mirroring local government development, the structure for organized recreation in the community has been based on a preconceived ideal appropriate to southern Canada, rather than a more flexible format developed in conjunction with community members in order to best meet recreation needs.

Along with the "guided" development of community recreation committees, the GNWT has introduced organized sport to the North. Both teachers and government workers have promoted a form of sport which developed initially in southern Canada. Specific concepts of time, urbanization, transportation, and improved facilities and equipment have shaped this form of organized sport, which originated with the industrial revolution.

A changing concept of time, for example, helped shape the form of modern day sport. Prior to industrialization, people carried out activities based on what needed to be done, and their internal sense of time. Once mechanized industry became established, regular working hours were dictated during which the employee was "at work". Time-oriented concepts of leisure have evolved from this situation whereby leisure was defined as time free from work and obligations. Sport activities were

accordingly relegated to "leisure time", with parameters set by an individual's working hours.

This had a far-reaching impact on the form of sport. To begin with, employees now had a specific period of free time available to them. These individuals could commit themselves to playing at the same time. Leagues could be formed. People could plan to be present for future games. However, time also became a commodity. Thus, games which before could have continued for hours at a time now were restricted to specified time limits. The evolution of lacrosse rules demonstrates this development.

> In 1867 the rules of lacrosse stipulated that 'a match will be decided by winning three games out of five', and a 'game' occurred each time a goal was scored. Consequently, the actual duration of a game could have been short, which did not suit the spectators, or, as occurred on some occasions, had to be postponed because of darkness. In 1888 the National Amateur Lacrosse Association fixed a time limit for matches, and, in 1894, the N.A.L.A. changed all the association matches to the majority of games in two hours. In 1900, the Canadian Lacrosse Association ruled that the duration of play for matches in leagues under their control would be ninety minutes in duration -- two periods of forty-five minutes (Jobling, 1970:380).

Modern sport, then, has specific time-related assumptions underlying its form. It is assumed that time commitments can be made and followed. It also assumes that the majority of participants operate on a 9:00-5:00, 5-day work week, which leaves weeknights and weekends "free" for leisure activities including sport. Finally, it assumes that participants and spectators require and/or prefer time-bound competitive opportunities.

These assumptions do not hold true in the more traditionally oriented NWT native communities. The majority of people are unemployed (in the euro-Canadian sense of the word). A few will have 9:00-5:00 jobs, but are apt to show up "around 9:00" and leave "around 5:00".

People are attuned to opportunities shaped by the weather and suitable conditions will likely result in a mass exodus from the community to go fishing or hunting. This often takes precedence over commitments to "work", as Southerners in the community quickly realize when they try to operate within a rigid time framework.

The effect of long hours of sunshine in the summer cannot be negated. Tuktoyaktuk has more than two months of continuous sunshine each year. Calling a game because of darkness would hardly be necessary as a result. Dennis Adams, in his thesis on changing values for recreation among Inuit people in the NWT, noted that the most popular time for recreation activities in Pond Inlet seemed to be late afternoons to early morning (Adams, 1978:174). Those were not the sole hours of leisure however. He noted that "a common characteristic of any one twenty-four hour day in Pond Inlet was that one could expect to see any number of people up and about at any particular time" (Ibid: 173).

With the absence of a rigid concept of time, and the long hours of sunlight, people continue to rely on internal rather than mechanical time when doing activities. Specific time commitments of any sort are not expected or followed. Accordingly, rules are flexible and not time-bound as they are in modern sport. Adam's description of "keep-away" captures the nature of the rules.

> The central purpose of 'keep-away', a game extremely popular with all ages, was. . . to keep a small rubber ball away from others. Beyond this central purpose, the only other understood rule was that it was not proper to hurt someone while attempting to get the ball. . .The game was observed played with as few as two, and as many as fifty participants. No great concern was ever shown if teams happened to be unbalanced in terms of the number of players. . . While some would become enthusiastically involved chasing the ball or tackling opponents, others were just as likely to stand by idly chatting, only to make a mad scramble for the ball when it came near. . . a player with the ball was once chased about the community by a second player for almost a half hour.

> Throughout the time these two were spontaneously creating their own game of 'chase', the others variously amused themselves, only to resume the original game when the pair returned with the ball. Obviously, rules were not a central feature of this activity (Ibid:177-178).

When children attend school in the NWT, they are exposed to defined rules and time limits for sports, and inter-school competitions follow specified rules of play. However, once the students return home, they settle back into the community concept of time, and rules taught to them in school usually relax considerably. The facilities available for sport may be limited by a rigid concept of time, such as evening gym hours from 8:00-11:00, but participants will arrive and leave as they see fit. People would certainly not feel compelled to attend a game because it was stipulated on a league schedule for 8:00 p.m.

Larger, primarily euro-Canadian communities in the NWT such as Inuvik operate in accordance with the more rigid concept of time prevalent in southern Canada. Leagues are numerous, and pre-arranged gym schedules dictate the specific time devoted to each contest. Competing interests for limited facilities, combined with the use of specified sport rules makes this a necessity. Outside of these six or so NWT communities, however, time does not have the same southern Canadian rigidity.

Modern day sport was also structured to meet the needs of urbanized centres, where people were aggregated in "relatively large, dense and heterogeneous settlements" (Popenoe, 1965:30). When leagues were formed, their successful continuation relied, in part, on having enough participants and organizers present to ensure that games could be held.

Contrast this southern reality with the situation in native NWT communities. These communities are small, homogeneous settlements of usually 400-800 people. Being homogeneous, there is neither the need

nor the population necessary to form clubs. The small numbers of people in any one age group would also prohibit the development of an extensive league structure. Great distances between towns would limit the recruitment of neighbouring community members for regular competition.

Improved transportation supported the changing form of Canadian sport in the 19th century. Both intra-community and inter-community sport increased in frequency. Special rates were created to encourage participants and spectators to attend contests. The North, in comparison, continues to have problems with transportation.

The major form of travel between communities is by air. Two major airlines have developed discount rates for athletes, but even with reduced rates, costs are very high.[12] Unlike southern Canada, where people can drive across town, or even across the province for competitions, people in the North have to charter a plane for inter-community competitions. Combine that reality with the largely non-existent community economic base and small sums of monies in government coffers for sport, and the problems of sport development through inter-community competition become evident. Winter travel via ice roads offers possibilities for a few of the communities, but the great distances between settlements, combined with the unpredictability and severity of the weather largely restricts this as well. As can be surmised by these costs, extensive spectator involvement rarely happens across the miles due to the distances between settlements. In the communities, though, it is not unusual to have great crowds attending -- it is a "happening", and everyone wants to take a look.

Improvements to recreation facilities and equipment also affected the development of organized sport. In the late 1800's, private and sporting clubs, as well as government, sponsored the construction of

buildings as the demand for facilities grew. With the increased interest in sport and sport excellence, better facilities were devised incorporating improved surfaces, dimensions and lighting (Jobling, 1970:326-327). As well, space had to be included for the spectators who were becoming an integral part of the sport experience.

The sad plight of recreation facilities in the NWT has been documented by community councils, MLAs and government workers. The small economic base of communities is a continuing reality in the North. Combine that with expensive construction, as well as the high costs of fuel and heating,and the development of suitable recreation facilities in communities appears bleak. Although the Territorial government is trying to alleviate these problems somewhat through their new Recreation Facilities Assistance Policy, the fact remains that specialized recreation facilities are not viable in the North without a heavy government subsidy for both construction and operation. The small population in most communities guarantees that only minimal facilities will be available, since operating and maintenance costs, even for minimal facilities, are known to drain municipal coffers, as well the dollars derived from most fundraising events.

Another product of industrialization which has shaped the form of modern sport in southern Canada was the mass manufacturing of equipment. This led to standardized and less expensive equipment which was accessible to a greater number of people. Rules for sport incorporated this advancement by detailing specifics on the game equipment to be used.

In the NWT, there cannot be the same emphasis on the high quality of equipment as occurs in the South. For one thing, it is not "accessible" automatically. Costs are often prohibitive and the procedures to

order equipment are generally complex. There is usually one store in town -- the Bay -- which carries both groceries and merchandise. High quality, specialized sports equipment is not available. Even in Yellowknife, the capital of the NWT, it is impossible to find good equipment. Ordering from the South, especially for one or two small pieces of equipment, ends up being troublesome for both parties. The result is that people play with whatever equipment is available. If the equipment is not available, then they adapt equipment to it, or do not play the game at all.

This becomes important when people are developing sports skills and/or competing against better equipped teams. An example might be the pee-wee softball tournament held in Yellowknife in 1982. Ft. Franklin wanted to send a team, but had no catching equipment, only a few gloves, and a bat and ball somewhere. Can they be expected to compete with teams to whom equipment is taken for granted? What constitutes a fair game in a situation such as this? The same situation arises concerning other sports such as hockey. Equipment definitely plays a role in modern sport, since the essence of a game requires that teams should begin from a base of initial equality and then strive to upset this equality through skills and strategies allowable within the rules. Standardization of equipment is an expected part of the initial equality.

When the concepts of time, urbanization, transportation and improved facilities and equipment which underlie modern sport are examined, it becomes clear that the northern setting, particularly in native communities, is not totally suited to the adoption of euro-Canadian sport. Sport has been introduced into the North, along with formalized education, wage employment, and a municipal form of government, by "frontiersmen" who were not knowledgeable about the lifestyle of northern native people.

Little attempt was made to modify these services to become congruous with northern communities. Instead, the "national good" became the "northern good", forcing native people to try and function within social institutions imported from southern Canada.

The duality of the North is created by the perceptions of those who live there. The North is viewed from two perspectives -- the southern transient who contributes towards the colonization of the "frontier", and the native northerner who often views imposed euro-Canadian social institutions not as progress, but rather as suppression. The cry for self-determination has become louder among native groups. The United Nation's International Bill of Rights declares that

> All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virture of that right they fully determine their political status and fully pursue their economic, social and cultural development (Bennett, 1978:50).

The rights of aboriginal peoples to set their own political and societal institutions have not yet been accepted in the NWT. The system as it presently exists favours individuals familiar with the euro-Canadian social system, and discriminates against those unfamiliar, or uncomfortable with such a system. That premise underlies the examination which follows, specifically as it relates to government provision of recreation services in the NWT. Accordingly, the following hypotheses were offered at the outset.

1) Type of Activity:

That the recreation activities supported by governments are primarily developed in accordance with the national approach to recreation in Canada. As a result, services are geared to the larger, more euro-Canadian communities in the North, and do not accommodate the needs of smaller, more traditional

communities.

2) Government Rationale for Recreation:

That the government rationale for supporting recreation is based primarily on the recognition of recreation as a discrete and valuable aspect of life. In contrast to this, most communities value organized recreation primarily as a means for offsetting social problems which occur in their communities.

3) Delivery System for Recreation:

That expectations placed on communities by government are oriented towards a southern Canadian, English speaking audience with well developed reading, writing and accounting skills. These expectations promote continued community dependency on government rather than individualized development of community recreation.

NOTES

1. See Thomas Berger's Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, the Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry: Volumes One and Two, 1977, which documents concerns of native people not only with the proposed pipeline, but also more general concerns over the impact of euro-Canadian social institutions on their way of life.

2. Dennis Adams' thesis on Inuit Recreation and Cultural Change documents Tununirmiut Inuit values, including their leisure ethos. Asen Balikci's Vunta Kutchin Social Change; A Study of the People of Old Crow, Yukon Territory documents the value framework of Loucheux (Dene) people. These two works capture the different value framework embodied in northern natives compared to southern Canadians.

3. Short descriptions of the history of initial European-native contact and their economic relationship can be found in Rea's The Political Economy of the Canadian North, 1968:68+, and Devine's NWT Data Book 1981, 18-19.

4. Although cultural changes were taking place from first contact with Europeans, it was only once euro-Canadians established themselves and their social institutions in the North, and demanded compliance from native people to those "Canadian" institutions, that daily control based on decisions made ultimately outside the NWT (ie colonialism) became unavoidable for native people.

5. Two readings which document the inappropriate nature of the NWT education system for native children are "The Schools", by Steve Kakfwi and Bob Overvold, 1977; and "Some Consequences of Residential Schooling of Eskimos in the Canadian Arctic", by Charles Hobart, 1970.

6. The operation of DEW Line stations require very few people, and are staffed by military personnel. Thus, although native labour was needed to construct the facility, they were unqualified to operate the completed facility. This situation can be compared to the upcoming construction of the pipeline from Norman Wells to Zama, Alberta. Two years of intensive labour are required to complete construction, but few jobs will be generated by the subsequent operation of the line.

7. Employees typically work long hours seven days a week for a specified number of weeks, after which they fly home for a few weeks holidays. This pattern as exemplified by "two weeks on -- two weeks off" has been developed to allow native people extended periods of time in their home community. However, the isolation from family and long hours often take their toll, and native people rarely last a long time in such jobs.

8. A Dene woman at the first meeting of NWT Native Women, held in May 1982, stated that a native person cannot remain true to his/her

culture while working as a government employee -- one must be either native, or a government employee. The low percentage of native people in government jobs would tend to support this allegation.

9. Pelly Bay is the only NWT community into which all supplies must be flown. Most other communities are visited by an NTCL barge once each summer, when barge orders are delivered to cover the needs of people for the following year. This practice is used widely by euro-Canadians, but is rarely if ever used by native people.

10. These communities include Yellowknife, Hay River, Pine Point, Frobisher Bay, Inuvik and to some extent Ft. Smith.

11. Recreation committees can be advisory to Council, operational, or a separate society contracted by Council to provide recreation on behalf of the Town.

12. A return trip from Frobisher Bay to Yellowknife, for example, is $1,300 per person normally. With reduced rates, the price drops to about $800.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED NWT RECREATION PROGRAMS

Major programs for recreation are detailed to outline the opportunities for sport and recreation which have existed in the NWT, and the role of government in those projects. Programs are separated into sections according to their delivery system. Thus, Arctic Winter Games (AWG), Northern Games, Dene Games, the Territorial Experimental Ski Training Program (TEST), and the Native Sport and Recreation Program (NSRP) are each discussed separately. Services provided specifically to NWT sport associations are discussed together, followed by the group of programs delivered directly to communities through the community Council.

Within each section, the history*of the project is first outlined, to familiarize the reader with the program. The type of activity included in the program is discussed next by outlining the sport or traditional games thrust, and the organized or developmental nature of the activity. "Organized" recreation in this context denotes an element of organizing with activity objectives which do not extend beyond the time period of the activity. "Developmental" recreation, in contrast, denotes the intention of consciously developing skills and/or training for future competitions. The rationale for the existence and government support of the project follows as the next section. Finally, the delivery system for the program is outlined, including the delivery channels, the nature of the funding source, and the programming and administrative requirements.

The GNWT receives yearly funding from DINA, and thus from the

*See Appendix B for Summaries of Government Supported Recreation Programs

federal government. The GNWT develops its annual budget, which must be examined and agreed upon in Ottawa as a final step. About 75% of the annual budget comes from the federal government with other revenue generated through personal income tax and commodity taxation on items such as alcohol and cigarettes.[1] However, once the federal financial contribution is established for the year, the GNWT operates in the same manner as does a provincial government. Practically, therefore, it is more appropriate to identify Recreation Division funding as being territorial, since the Division is answerable to the GNWT Minister of Local Government, and must bring any new initiatives forward for approval to the Executive Committee (comparable in role to the federal Cabinet). Programs funded by the Recreation Division have thus been accorded a territorial funding source. Any federal initiatives noted for DINA lie outside the Department's annual funding of the GNWT.

Government files, both federal and territorial, were the major source for data collection. Individuals involved with the projects contributed insightful comments, and occasional documents which they had retained. Community files, and the records of organizations involved with these programs, also contained pertinent material. Finally, participant-observation in several of these projects, and two years working with government employees delivering these programs have contributed to the discussion which follows.

Arctic Winter Games

History

The AWG were conceived out of frustration by northerners involved in national sports competition. Participation at the 1967 Canada Winter Games placed both the NWT and the Yukon Territory at

the bottom of the standings.

> At that time the concept was discussed by S.M. Hodgson, Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, and Mr. R. Orange, the Member of Parliament in the Northwest Territories. They felt that sport in the Northwest Territories could be better developed if athletes in the Territories were given the opportunity to compete in the level of competition more suitable to their own standards. They were of the opinion that those areas above the sixtieth parallel of latitude had some sporting events in common and could provide each other with a similar calibre of competition. With these ideas in mind, Commissioner James Smith of the Yukon Territory and Governor Walter J. Hinkel of Alaska were contacted with the proposal that the three areas organize and stage Arctic Winter Games (1976 AWG Program:8).

The Arctic Winter Games Corporation was formed in 1969, and the first Games were held in Yellowknife in 1970, coinciding with the NWT Centennial year. Events were similar to those found in the Canada Games[2] although traditional arctic games and dances were demonstrated by the Northern Games team and the Delta Drummers and Dancers out of Inuvik. The age categories for participants differed from the Canada Games, because adults were included along with juniors for most of the events "... since adults in the North often (had) limited opportunities to engage in meaningful competition, or even recreational activity (AWG Corporation, report after 1974 Games:10).

Funding for the Games has been available through the federal, territorial and municipal levels of government since their inception. Technical aid was initially offered by Sport Canada, with several highly skilled Canadian sports people also providing their expertise.[3] Politicians, at least at first, were willing to travel the distance and attend the Games. Prime Minister Trudeau opened the first Games in 1970, an act repeated by Governor General Roland Michener in 1972. The Games were obviously sanctioned by Canadian politicians -- a fact which helped ensure ongoing funding.

Two complete cycles of the Games have been held. The first cycle was completed in 1976, by which time the Games had been staged in each participating province, territory or state; that is, the NWT (Yellowknife, 1970), the Yukon Territory (Whitehorse, 1972), Alaska (Anchorage, 1974), and Northern Quebec[4] (Schefferville, 1976). This cycle was repeated for the three initial units[5] by 1982, with Games held in the NWT (Hay River-Pine Point, 1978), the Yukon Territory (Whitehorse, 1980), and Alaska (Fairbanks, 1982). Northern Quebec stopped participating after the 1976 Games because of high costs.

Two evaluation studies were sanctioned by the AWG Corporation,[6] one following each completed cycle (1976 and 1982). These two reports documented the financial details of the Games, the events held, numbers of participants, as well as a description and critique of the delivery system. Continuation of the biennial Games were recommended although problems were noted with the selection process for sports. The cultural component was acknowledged as a vital part of the festival, with a recommendation to formalize the approach to this aspect of the Games. Government support was credited, and cited as the underlying foundation for the Games.

> . . . it was evident that governmental support is essential for the Arctic Winter Games to continue and, indeed, the three Units are members of the Games under the responsibility and authority of the governments [my emphasis]. Support from the Government of Canada is also essential because of the limited resources available to the two territories. . . the support of the Canadian Government is justified, particularly for capital funding, because the two territories do not have the opportunity to host the Jeux Canada Games and thereby gain the advantage of facility development (Makale and Kyllo, 1982:93).

Events appear to have taken on more of a "northern flavour" over the years. Arctic Sports, a demonstration event in 1970 and 1972, was instituted as an official event in 1974. This activity continued

throughout all Games as the primary focus of the media, as well as the major attraction for spectators. Other events which have varied from traditional Canada Games events included snowshoeing (begun in 1974), snowshoe biathlon (begun in 1978), and indoor soccer (begun in 1980). Floor hockey, a popular sport throughout the NWT, did not fare as well It was considered for the 1982 Games, but was not included because the sport was not evident in the other units, and therefore not considered acceptable by the AWG Corporation. While the inclusion of a few non-Canada Games events has contributed to the legitimacy of the AWG as a sports competition suited to the North, it has been the cultural demonstrations and events, as well as the "friendliness and camaraderie" which have provided the Games with their own unique identity.

The emphasis on mass participation rather than excellence was apparent in the overall award presentation. Initially, the Games flag was presented to the unit achieving the largest number of points from all events in the Games (FAS letter, 5 May 1975). In 1978, this practice was replaced by the presentation of the Stuart Hodgson Award to the most sportsmanlike team. The Games flag was then presented to the hosts of the upcoming AWG. Although this alteration in award focus is commendable, it has not changed the unofficial medal count tabulated for the three units.

The small population of most communities in the North has led to discussions on the suitability of various sites for the Games. The 1978 Hay River-Pine Point Games was an experiment in site location. Transportation and communication links were established between the two communities, with some events held in each place. It was generally felt by the organizers that this approach was not only costly, but

also took away from the excitement created when all events were held in the same location. The 1982 evaluation report recommended that guidelines be developed to identify host communities for the AWG (Makale and Kyllo, 1982:70). This approach could, if accepted, effectively limit the Games sites to Yellowknife and Whitehorse for Canada, with the concomitant facility development likewise limited.

Sport development has been an objective of the Games. Both the AWG trials, and the Games themselves have been used as an opportunity for more formal competition experience, as well as a forum for players, coaches and officials clinics. This has proved beneficial to participants, but the AWG athletes have originated primarily from the larger NWT communities where clinics are often available. The number of NWT communities participating in the trials have ranged from sixteen to forty-one, while athletes attending the Games have come from between seven and twenty communities (out of approximately sixty NWT communities). The percentage of native people participating in the Games has been fairly small, ranging between 22% and 33% of the NWT contingent in any one Games (Ibid:Table 2). It was clear that the major benefactors of the AWG experience continued to be non-native individuals who had been trained previously in southern Canada.

Type of Activity

The AWG has been perceived as a developmental sports competition from its inception. At the federal level, the provision of technical expertise by Sport Canada in the early years was in keeping with the euro-Canadian concept of sport. Internal FAS evaluations documented the low level of competitive skill in the Games;[7] however, they continued to refer to the Games as an "international sports

competition. . . intended (in part) to be common ground in developing northern athletes in Olympic sports. . ." (FAS, Annual Report, 1976). The federal view of AWG as sport was also apparent in the 1977 FAS decision to continue funding AWG, and phase out funding for Northern Games because". . . the nature of these (AWG) games falls within our (FAS) mandate" (FAS notes to the Minister, 6 April 1977).

The GNWT Recreation Division has similarly viewed the AWG as a developmental sports competition. The responsibility for the Games has remained in the hands of the sport development officer. The Sport North Federation, which administers government sport programs in the NWT, received funding from the Recreation Division to select the NWT team. Finally, the Division has consistently supported the Games financially as being the major opportunity for sport competition in the Territories.

Rationale

The AWG were supported by the federal government as a sports competition for a disadvantaged region of Canada, rather than as an "elite" sport competition, although initial FAS support contributed towards what was to be a steppingstone competition for northerners to eventual national meets (FAS review of AWG, 1976). A 1976 review of the Games by FAS recommended continued funding because of the need to develop sports and recreation ". . . in these areas of sparse and far-flung populations. . . AWG (is) more an instrument of sports, cultural and social development than an elitist sporting event. . ." (Ibid:10). The report recommended that AWG be established in the overall planning of various Games "in view of the marked absence of these territories in most of our (FAS) overall actions and projects. . ."(Ibid:11).

Sport Canada has discontinued supporting regional Games. AWG have been examined accordingly, since they do include only one region of Canada. Two factors favour continued funding of the AWG by the federal government. First, the presence of native people at the Games has remained a strong point. The Games have provided an opportunity for FAS to service native sporting needs, while not having to deal with "cultural activities" which could be interpreted as being outside the FAS mandate.[8] Second, the involvement of Alaska made the AWG an "international" sports competition. Thus, the political ramifications of federal funding withdrawal would extend beyond Canadian borders.[9] These two factors have contributed greatly towards the continuation of federal support to what FAS might term a "regional sports competition".

The GNWT has continued to fund the AWG because they provide a vehicle for sport development in the NWT. There is no doubt that the Games have provided an impetus for the development of euro-Canadian sport in some NWT communities. The Games remain as the only multi-sport championship accessible to most NWT athletes. However, increasingly higher costs for the AWG, combined with budgetary restraint, have resulted in examination of the Games as the best forum for sport development. This examination will become part of a larger policy on sport and recreation development for the NWT. Political ramifications are an important consideration in examination of the Games, since GNWT withdrawal would effectively mean the demise of the Games. Meanwhile, a new cycle has been started for the AWG, with plans to hold the 1984 Games in Yellowknife. Government funding has been guaranteed for the length of each cycle thus far. It appears that this policy will be followed for the third cycle of the Games as well.

Delivery System

Three separate organizations contribute towards NWT participation in each AWG - the AWG Corporation, the AWG Host Society, and the NWT unit. The AWG Corporation, made up of two directors from each unit, is an ongoing Board responsible for selecting the Games site and events, and for the overall organization and conduct of the Games (Harrison, 1979:2). This incorporated body has directors ". . . acceptable to the government of the participating unit, although they are not directly nominated by that government" (AWG Corporation, report after 1974 Games:2). Funding for the operation of the Corporation is provided by an annual grant from each of the territorial/state governments.

The AWG host society is created anew for each Games, formed within the community where the Games will be held. This organization must be incorporated. The responsibility of the host society is to ensure that daily operations and preparations are carried out which are necessary in order for the Games to materialize. Funding is provided to Canadian host societies by the federal government, both for the operating costs of the Games, and for occasional facility construction or renovations necessary to host the Games. The government of the host unit similarly contributes towards these needs. Fundraising to provide for the additional costs of the Games is a major responsibility of the host society.

The NWT team is selected under the auspices of the Sport North Federation, in accordance with the terms of reference included in a legal agreement between the GNWT and the Federation. Coordination of the trials and team selection is ensured by the AWG committee, with administrative aid from the Sport North executive director. Actual team selection is orchestrated by existing NWT sport associations. Volunteer regional coordinators attend to the logistics of trials and team travel in each

of the six competitive regions within the NWT. Funding is provided by the territorial Recreation Division to Sport North for the purpose of selecting and sending a team to the Games. The Division's sport development officer also aids in some aspects of the team preparations.

Government commitment to the AWG is thus apparent in every aspect of the Games. This has been reflected in the stable funding pattern provided by both FAS and the GNWT Recreation Division since the inception of the Games. AWG has been treated as a program in its own right by both governments,[10] a program which was guaranteed funding for the six-year cycle just completed (1976-1982). Thus, although the amount of funding for each Games had to be negotiated, the assurance that funding would be forthcoming was always there.

A link between AWG and the community government or recreation committee has not been established. Sport North has, instead, relied heavily on its sport associations and regional coordinators to provide information to the communities. This communication was directed to any existing local sports clubs first, followed by the community school where clubs did not exist. Although these two channels were logical contact points, the community was left reliant on a few individuals for the encouragement of local participation in the Games.[11]

Programming requirements for the AWG mirror those of Games held in southern Canada. Competitive equality was to be ensured for the events, based on established rules and well-orchestrated trials. Thus, rules were quickly established for Arctic Sports once they became an official event of the Games. Team uniforms, tight performance schedules, and specific age and sex categories were all an integral part of the Games. Cultural performances may have occurred, but they

were expected to comply with the preestablished time schedules and conditions set for all events. Thus, the Games were not only perceived as primarily sport-oriented, but they were structured in accordance with that perception as well.

Northern Games

History

The concept of the Northern Games originated in Inuvik in reaction to the proposed structure for the AWG, which was to include only euro-Canadian sports[12] primarily for younger participants (Dittrich, 1976). The Inuvik committee proposed an alternative festival -- a weekend of native games and activities in Inuvik as a NWT Centennial project. A special grant was made to the organizing committee in early 1970 from the territorial government's Centennial fund. Several communities also donated funds towards the project. In March, the Delta Drummers[13] and a newly formed Northern Games team gave a demonstration at the AWG. The first Northern Games[14], held in July 1970, brought together 175 people from twelve communities in the Western Arctic, Yukon Territory and Alaska. The Games were an unqualified success and expectations for their continuation on an annual basis developed (NGA, Development Plan, 1976:2.0).

The steering committee sponsored Games in Inuvik for the following two years. After the 1972 Games, which people from the Eastern Arctic attended for the first time,[15] a series of meetings was held where it was agreed that four regional Games should be held the following year. Unfortunately, funding could not be obtained for this project expansion; thus, only one Games was held in 1973, with the site moved from Inuvik to Ft. Good Hope. FAS contributed funding

to this Games festival for the first time. Other government contributions came from the GNWT, Secretary of State, and Canada Manpower and Immigration (through an Opportunities for Youth grant). Private corporations also contributed towards the Games. Participants from fourteen communities attended, and a permanent secretary was hired for the Northern Games Association (NGA).

The 1974 Games, held in Tuktoyaktuk, were funded in a similar manner to 1973, but attendance increased to eighteen communities. A video of the Games was made that year, and a film the following year at Ft. McPherson. The 1975 Games continued with the same funding sources, but the participants increased to include thirty communities. The NGA supplied native games teachers for some schools through a government cultural inclusion grant. The Association also sponsored cultural workshops[16] in Ft. McPherson and Ft. Franklin, in order to document the traditional skills and pastimes of the Dene people. The Association's role thus expanded from sponsoring an annual festival to also documenting traditional games and introducing them into the school curriculum.

An assessment of the NGA's progress was taken following the Ft. McPherson Games. The idea of regional Games rather than simply trans-arctic Games was once again discussed. A five-year development plan (1976-1980) was drawn up, as well as a NGA constitution. These documents were adopted-in-principle following the 1976 Coppermine Games.[20] There was no further action taken to formalize these ideas, although regional Games were carried out in 1977. A week-long leadership training workshop was held in 1976 for traditional games instructors. Leaders returned to their communities following the workshop, and developed community or school programs.

Four regional Games were planned in 1977, although only three occurred. These were held in Eskimo Point, Igloolik and Aklavik. Trans-arctic Games were held in Eskimo Point in 1978, in accordance with the NGA five-year development plan. This year marked a turning point for government funding to the NGA. A letter had been sent to the Chairman of the Association in 1977, stating that FAS would be reducing its funding yearly and ending in 1980, because AWG was felt to be more suited to the FAS mandate than the Northern Games. This was reaffirmed in a 1980 letter to the coordinator of the NGA from a FAS employee.

> Three years ago (1977) we studied our relationship with your organization very closely and concluded that the activities of the association do not fall within the mandate and objectives of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch. I also want to point out that we are providing substantial funding to the Arctic Winter Games, an event which relates much more closely to the objectives of this Branch (Willette to Bernhardt, 16 January 1980).

At the same time, DINA decided to contribute funding towards the 1978 Games. The NGA lobbied for a meeting with federal officials from the various departments involved, in order to discern the future pattern for federal funding. In response to this two internal meetings were organized for federal officials; the first at the program officer level, followed by a second meeting of assistant deputy ministers. Representatives from DINA, Secretary of State and FAS attended the meetings. FAS noted their intent to stop all funding to Northern Games by 1980. The Secretary of State voiced the opinion that they too would be curtailing their financial contributions to the NGA, since Departmental program emphasis was shifting towards local rather than large-scale projects, which receive funding on a once-only rather than a sustaining basis. DINA confirmed their intent to continue funding the Games, but noted that this direction was subject to further consideration. The

Department's funding did change in 1981, when a telex was sent to the NGA informing them that there was no program or authority within DINA to continue funding the Games. Previous grants had been

> . . . made possible as a result of surpluses (occurring) in some of the Department's established programs.
> Unfortunately continued budgetary restraint together with increasing demands on the resources of our existing programs preclude the continuation of these contributions (Munro, 5 June, 1981).

All that the Department could offer was $5,000 in the form of a cultural grant to assist with the training workshops which the NGA sponsored in Inuit communities.

Funding for the 1979 Games reflected a reduced FAS contribution. The Games were trans-arctic rather than regional in nature. The NGA development plan had recommended regional Games every second year; however, a letter from the Northern Games coordinator suggests a possible reason why this plan was not followed. Bernhardt, in his letter to Iona Campagnolo, suggested that trans-arctic Games should be held on alternate years to the AWG (that is, biennially beginning in 1979), to allow for the two festivals to complement each other. This idea was, predictably, not supported by FAS which had already declared that the AWG alone fell within their mandate.

A Canada Works grant enabled athletes from across the Arctic to attend a workshop at the University of Alberta in October 1978, where games were documented, and standardized rules created for use in future Northern Games. A follow-up workshop was held in Yellowknife the next June. In the meantime, the athletes returned to their communities, employed to instruct native games.

Documentation and leadership development were still concerns of the NGA at this point, but funding problems had become a far more serious

issue. The FAS representative reiterated in his opening speech at the 1979 Games that Departmental funding would ". . . shift to DINA funding the next year" (Dawson, 1979). The Member of Parliament for the Western Arctic subsequently sent a letter to the Minister of DINA, suggesting that all funding be channeled through the GNWT, since it appeared that the Northern Games were being classed as provincial rather than international in nature (Nickerson to Epp, 27 July 1979). DINA confirmed their involvement in Northern Games because of their mandate for native culture. In keeping with that mandate, the Department declared their intention to continue funding the Games rather than devolving responsibility to the GNWT.

The 1980 Games were held in Holman Island. Original plans for additional regional games in Pangnirtung had to be dropped because of a lack of funds. Eleven communities took part, and footage for". . . a professional film specifically (aimed) at enhancing the Association's fundraising activities. . ." (DINA telex, 5 June 1981) was taken.

Funding for the 1981 Northern Games was slow in coming. The GNWT, aware that federal funds were largely curtailed,[18] agreed to increase significantly the funding for the Northern Games, so long as the Association became more community-oriented, and strengthened its organizational framework. The constitution and a five-year development plan were revised, although once again these documents were never filed for incorporation. Regional Games, held in Ft. McPherson, Repulse Bay and Coppermine, all developed debts over $10,000. Each of the regional committees had begun a process of incorporation by this time, with the committees formally linked to the territorial NGA. After these financial problems surfaced, it was unanimously agreed that regional bodies would

incorporate on their own for the present time, to avoid being held responsible for the debts of another regional association.

The process of forming regional committees continues at this time. Regional Games were held in 1982 in Coppermine and Rankin Inlet. Problems with financial accountability from the previous year almost brought about the demise of each before they could be brought to a reality, but community fundraising enabled the Games to eventually materialize. Efforts continue within the various organizations, with technical and financial aid from the GNWT, to develop an approach which will enable the Games to occur as desired by the Association, while at the same time meeting GNWT accountability requirements. Community interest and support suggests that the Games will survive; however, the administrative process underlying the festivals must continue to be refined before the Games become a stable, annual occurrence.

Type of Activity

All four government funding sources[19] saw the Northern Games as an expression of traditional native cultural activities. This perception of the Games coincided with that intended by the 1970 Inuvik steering committee, who stated in the initial Northern Games proposal that

> The Games will feature every Northern games that can be found and which it is feasible to conduct. They will also include Northern dance competitions representative of the major ethnic cultures of Territorial residents (Proposed Centennial Northern Games, 1970).

The proposed schedule supported this intention, noting events such as ear pull, seal skinning and blanket toss. No "southern" sports were included.

The government did not feel that the Northern Games fit within a "sport" mandate. FAS, in deciding to withdraw funding from the Northern

Games, noted that AWG rather than Northern Games fit within their "sport" mandate. The GNWT Recreation Division similarly places Northern Games outside of its "sport" programs, as evidenced by the location of the program within the cultural rather than the sport budget.

In contrast to the government view of the Games, the NGA did see a sport and games thrust to the festival. In a 1977 reply to the federal Green Paper on Sport, the NGA disputed the claim that their festival was merely cultural in nature.

> It seems that some outsiders view Northern Games only as a cultural organization. It is a cultural event of the best kind, but its focus is on games and sport. Sports in the south are also cultural events with a different purpose (i.e., a winning purpose in a win-oriented culture). Must we buy that ethic to be funded? (NGA, Green Paper reply:3)

FAS did, at one point, consider the Northern Games to be

> . . . friendly, competition in traditional native sports [my emphasis] as well as cultural and social activities.
> . . . are not a mere sports competition, [my emphasis] but rather a festival in keeping with the traditional native gatherings of years ago (FAS Annual Report, 1976).

The Games, however, were apparently not enough of a "sports competition" to remain funded under FAS, as the NGA was informed of the Department's plans to withdraw funding the following year.

Rationale

The 1978 meeting between the three federal departments involved in funding Northern Games highlighted each Department's rationale for involvement. FAS was involved because of the "Games" element; thus, they eventually withdrew funding because they did not see the cultural aspect within their mandate. The Secretary of State noted their intention to stop support to the Northern Games because of the Games major inter-regional focus, as contrasted with the Department's focus on encouraging

local and regional projects. The cultural aspect of the Games was relevant to them; however the ongoing major nature of the festival was not appropriate for their mandate. DINA acknowledged that they could support the "native culture" aspect of the Games; however, a program of assistance was never established for Northern Games within that department. A 1981 telex to the NGA carried the result of that situation when the Department stated that previous funding had been based on surpluses in the Department which no longer existed, leaving only the $5,000 cultural grant available for Northern Games funding (telex, 5 June 1981).

The GNWT has continued to fund the Northern Games as a festival of traditional activities. Financial donations have been increased greatly since 1980 because the NGA has agreed to work towards a more developmental approach for their association. Accordingly, smaller regional Games, which allow for increased organizational and participatory involvement by the communities, have been held for the past two years.

Although there has been government funding for the Games since their inception, the broad rationale for the NGA formation was clearly much more varied than any particular government program rationale. Association objectives included the celebration, preservation and documentation of traditional activities. This was evident in a number of activities -- demonstrations throughout southern Canada[20] which portrayed the uniqueness of natives games to other Canadians, documentation of traditional games,[21] development of leaders for native games,[22] placement of those leaders in community and school programs,[23] and the continuation of annual Northern Games festivals. This required the use of several government programs in order for the Association to work towards the achievement of their objectives.

Delivery System

Government funding has always been provided directly to the NGA. This Association has never been a well-defined structure, although attempts were made to formalize the organization in 1976, and again in 1981. A part-time coordinator has administered the NGA program for the most part since 1973. This person's salary was usually paid with project funding earmarked for administrative services. The coordinator often set the direction for the Association, usually with no formal direction from the Board of Directors.[24] As of 1980, regional organizations have formed in three regions - the Western Arctic, the Central Arctic, and the Keewatin. There is no territorial organization at present, although the western arctic NGA is still unofficially recognized as the parent body.

Government funding has been provided to the NGA on a year by year basis. This has led to much effort being required each year by NGA administrators in order to secure funding, and a lack of stability over the amount of money which will be available in any one year for the Games. The GNWT has recently begun committing funds to the Association at the beginning of the year; however, federal grant applications must still be submitted on an annual basis. Federal departments, once they receive the application, take almost two months before a decision can be returned to the NGA. As a result, it is difficult for the Association to plan their Games based on guaranteed federal funding.

The GNWT Recreation Division is the only government agency which presently has a program specific to Northern Games. Grants from the Secretary of State and DINA come from a more general program within which some aspects of Northern Games are considered to fit. Without an identified program specific to the Northern Games, annual funding can never be

ensured from the federal government.

The Associations have been linked often with native political organizations[25], although lately there has been a move towards affiliation with regional government bodies.[26] There has not been a strong link, for the most part, between community Northern Games representatives and the community recreation committee, although this relationship has been encouraged by the GNWT Recreation Division. Instead, organizers have become involved solely because of their strong commitment to the Games.

The Northern Games were not created by government as a recreation program, but rather by people in the community. As a result, no specific government program, including concomitant guidelines and funding were established at the outset for these Games (as contrasted with, for example, the AWG). The advantage of this situation was that there was no government control over the programming approach taken to the Games. As a result, the Games have proceeded in keeping with the traditional approach to gatherings, whereby activities start and finish when people and the natural realities of sun and season suggest. Since people come to visit and participate, there are few true spectators; hence, no one expects a spectacle to start "on time", or events to occur according to a rigid set of rules.

The GNWT Recreation Division has established as an administrative expectation for funding that each regional association incorporate as a society. Although this process took several years to complete, both the western arctic and the central arctic Associations have now become incorporated. This expectation arose largely because of ongoing problems with financial accountability which started in 1977, when they

were suspended by FAS for not providing proper accounting of the Games. A Recreation Division financial review in 1981 documented deficits incurred by the NGA since 1978/79, due to a lack of spending controls and improper financial management.[27] Large debts were created during the 1981 Northern Games by all three regional associations. The Recreation Division subsequently required incorporation and clearance of past debts as a prerequisite to 1982 funding.

Dene Games

History

The Dene Games were first held in 1977, using a $10,000 grant from the GNWT Recreation Division. At that time, the organization, located in Rae-Edzo, was called the Dene-U Celebration Committee. The summer festival was focused around a softball tournament including teams from many of the surrounding native communities. This format was repeated until 1979, when for two years the Games did not occur.[28]

In the fall of 1980, a GNWT-funded organizational meeting was held for the Dene Games Association, involving the same personnel that had operated the previous Dene-U Celebration Committee. This more formalized organization received GNWT funding to hold Dene Games in Rae-Edzo the following summer. The popular softball tournament was once again the focus of the festival. However, a few traditional games were included, as well as a drum dance and some water events. The 1982 Games, held in Ft. Smith, followed primarily the same format, although the organizers had originally planned to make the Games a more "traditional" native festival.

Type of Activity

Although the participants to the Dene Games were primarily native, the activities which took place were often euro-Canadian in origin. This can be attributed in part to the dearth of knowledge about the traditional Dene Games.[29] There are developmental objectives for the Association; however, little effort has been made by the committee to seek out and document traditional activities. The festival is thus organized rather than developmental in nature, with no attempts made to develop actvity skills beyond the time period of the Games.

Rationale

The Games have been funded thus far solely by the GNWT Recreation Division. Grants have been provided because this festival is organized by Dene people for Dene participants. Accordingly, the Recreation Division continues to include the program under their cultural section. It is the only regional sports gathering for all of the native communities in the Southern Mackenzie which can be compared to the annual gathering of native people in the Northern Mackenzie region at Northern Games. Various methods of cultural retention are cited in the Dene Games Association objectives;[30] however, to date the Association has focused its attention on organizing an annual Games in many ways akin to a softball tournament, with no pretense of the events being traditional in origin.

Delivery System

GNWT funding has been directed to the organizers of the Games. The original Dene-U Celebration Committee was made up of a small group of interested people in Rae-Edzo. The more formal Dene Games Association

is an incorporated organization,[31] with annual executives appointed from the host community of the festival. To date, there has been no direct linkage between the Association and community recreation committees.

No attempts have been made by the government to monitor the programming for the Games. Presently, the Executive is responsible for deciding on the festival activities. While the softball tournament may be quite organized, the more traditional activities such as stick gambling and drum dances operate in accordance with personal interest rather than according to a set schedule.

Administrative expectations of the GNWT included incorporation of the Association and ongoing financial accountability. Neither of these expectations have proved to be a serious problem. Yearly funding for the Association has been committed by the GNWT, so long as financial accountability is maintained. Although a delay in funding occurred in 1982 because of problems in financial documentation, the Association was eventually able to overcome the delay, and thus carry on with the 1982 Dene Games.

The Territorial Experimental Ski Training Program

History

Father Mouchet, a Roman Catholic priest, was the originator of cross-country skiing in the North, having first introduced it in Old Crow, Yukon in 1955 (Mouchet, 1973). In 1963, the GNWT Recreation Division was just starting, under the leadership of Jacques Van Pelt. Fr. Mouchet was invited to participate in planning an outdoor education program which would be economical in terms of facilities and equipment, yet be physically and mentally stimulating. On the suggestion of Fr. Mouchet, the Division decided to ". . . assist the people of the

Mackenzie District and the Central Arctic with a cross-country ski program for fitness, fun and competition" (Recreation Division, 1964:1). Ski equipment was to be provided as part of the leadership development package but was to remain the property of the Division.

The first territorial cross-country ski clinic was held in Ft. Smith in February 1964. Soon after, Fr. Mouchet started a recreational cross-country ski program for teenagers living in the Inuvik hostel (Federal Government, 1969). This program was very successful, and became instrumental in convincing the FAS National Fitness Council in 1967

> . . . to provide a financial basis to study the psycho-sociological changes in Indian and Eskimo youth participating in physically strenuous outdoor activities such as cross-country skiing (Glassford et al., 1973:2).

The Fitness Council originally committed $25,000 yearly for five years towards this program, which was to determine if the motivation of native youth in their general achievement as students and teachers could be improved through cross-country skiing. That grant was eventually provided for a nine-year period, with the territorial Recreation Division concomitantly providing $5,000 yearly towards the project.

Fr. Mouchet and others believed that competitive cross-country skiing was a way for native youth in the Mackenzie Delta to become motivated to successfully compete in national and international meets; a motivation which would carry over into general achievement as students and citizens. The skiers' success at international level competition was amazing. Soon northern skiers made up the national ski team, representing Canada in meets including the 1972 Sapporo Olympics. The Top of the World Ski Championship, begun in Inuvik in 1966 as a spring training session for skiers and instructors, quickly became the largest annual cross-country ski meet in North America, attracting top international competitors

(TEST, 1970-71 report).

In November 1970, academics from the University of Alberta were invited to begin a comprehensive analysis of the achievements of the TEST program. Between 1971 and 1973, the TEST participants were assessed on their physical fitness, mental attitude, educational achievements, social awareness, and their competitive results. The resulting recommendations encouraged the TEST personnel to balance the elite program with a recreational component which went beyond Inuvik's boundaries. The same recommendation was made in an internal FAS evaluation by Stan Kalinowsky, who encouraged FAS to continue funding the program until 1975/76, by which time the program could establish itself as a combination school-community-government program (Kalinowsky, 1973:27-30).

The GNWT took over funding of the TEST program once the federal grant finished in 1975. It was the only sport association which received special funding from the Recreation Division. Other associations, noting this discrepancy, began lobbying to receive additional funding as well at Sport North annual general meetings. In 1980, the Recreation Division decided to stop providing the grant to TEST, since the program had effectively merged with the NWT Ski Association, which was eligible for funding through Sport North. A strong lobby by MLA Nellie Cournoyea, combined with the production of an annual report and a five-year development plan by the Ski Association led to the reversal of this decision.

A Recreation Division proposal for a technical director's support program was presented to the GNWT Executive Committee about this time. The program objective was to financially support a technical director for four popular NWT sports, including skiing, in a manner akin to the successful TEST approach. The proposal, however, was rejected by

the Executive Committee. The status quo has continued since that time with a $25,000 annual grant to the NWT Ski Association, and no special funding to other NWT sport associations.

Type of Activity

The TEST Ski program was clearly perceived and structured as a euro-Canadian developmental sport activity. It was felt to be, however, a sport which suited the culture and environment of northern natives. The first seven years of the program were oriented towards elite performance. Activities concentrated on team cooperation rather than individual performance however, with athlete leadership and community involvement encouraged. The goal at that time was to be the best athletes in Canada, a goal which northern athletes achieved for awhile. It was, however, also seen as a euro-Canadian sport program specifically for native people. The ski program no longer has this orientation, as many of the NWT ski team competitors are presently non-native. In keeping with the 1973 recommendations the TEST program did broaden its base and become more recreational in nature. The dual thrust towards both elite and recreational skiing, however, signalled the demise of the outstanding elite performances which had developed under the former approach.

Rationale

Federal funds contributed towards the TEST program were provided for a pilot social development experiment, which would attempt to socialize native athletes through sport into a changing cultural situation. The objective of the pilot was to get native skiers to ". . . take on the qualities . . . (needed) in the more individualistic future-

oriented achievement-type society of the industrial world" (TEST, 1971/2 Annual Report:5), while still enabling the athletes to retain a strong commitment to traditional ways. This objective, held by the organizers of the program, could be supported by FAS because it dealt with elite, euro-Canadian sport, yet provided opportunities for a disadvantaged group in Canada, native people, to compete in elite sport. Through this project, it was hoped that the native athletes would be mainstreamed not only into Canadian sport, but also into the euro-Canadian form of society.

The GNWT initially became involved in cross-country skiing as an economical outdoor education program, although the program quickly took on an elite focus once the federal fitness grant was obtained in 1967. During this "elite" phase, it was hoped that the successful image created by the skiers would justify continued programming by the GNWT (Kalinowsky, 1973:18-19). After the 1973 shift towards a recreationally balanced program, the project continued to receive annual GNWT funding because of its high profile as well as the focus on mass participation. Project funding was not questioned until 1980, when the Division noted that the TEST program and the NWT Ski Association were really the same organization -- an Association no different at that time than several other sport associations in the NWT. Funding for the Ski Association was eventually reinstated primarily for political reasons rather than in accordance with a sound counter-argument to the claim. The early success of the elite skiers thus carried the program well after it had lost its ability to attract and produce elite native skiers.

Delivery System

Government funds for the TEST program were provided directly to

the TEST Board, located in Inuvik. This Board set out a specific set of objectives at the start of the program, and produced annual reports including financial statements. Evaluation of the program was very formal, using academics from the University of Alberta who organized their assessment around the original objectives. No community contacts were made at the start, because all athletes were located in Inuvik as well.

An Inuvik ski team supporter club was established to raise funds for team travel. The federal TEST grant was to be used only for financing the motivation research program, a small amount of money which contributed towards items such as the salaries and expenses of the program manager, research assistants and tutor (for travelling TEST participants). Thus, the supporter club fundraised to cover remaining costs, which were considerable.[32]

Once the TEST program decentralized, the format became regionalized, with a competitive program which began with settlement championships, and went on through regional and NWT zone championships to the Canadian national meet. Affiliation was maintained with the Canadian Ski Association throughout the project, indicating the close linkage of the program to the euro-Canadian competitive system. Community contacts were primarily school teachers, who organized community ski clubs.

Problems which occurred with the program were identified in the 1973 FAS evaluation by Kalinowsky. He felt that the lack of prior knowledge about continued funding, combined with a high turnover of staff, had resulted in difficulties for the project (Ibid:24). Subsequent to his evaluation, these problems continued to persist. Although $25,000 had been awarded annually by the Division beginning in 1975,

this funding was awarded on a year by year basis, rather than guaranteed for an established period of time. The GNWT funding for the ski program was not actually instituted as a formal item in the Recreation Division budget until 1982/83. At that time, the GNWT outlined specific programming and administrative expectations which were met by the Association through a five-year development plan and an annual report. Expectations also included incorporation of the Association and financial accountability.

A serious problem has been evident over the past two years. Financial accountability has not been forthcoming from the Association, because they have not submitted their annual statement of expenditures and revenues. Thus, they have not been entitled to receive the $25,000 grant during that time. The future of GNWT funding for the Ski Association remains in question. The funding has finally been included in the Division budget, yet it will not be released to the Association until previous expenditures are documented to the satisfaction of the Recreation Division.

The Native Sport and Recreation Program

History

The NSRP was given federal Cabinet approval on September 14, 1972. Its roots, however, stretch back to 1970, when the federal minister, John Munro suggested in Yellowknife that FAS ". . . organize a demonstration project for isolated or Indian areas in the Prairies" (Meredith and Dedam, 1977:1). In keeping with this suggestion, FAS approached the three prairie native associations, requesting that they submit proposals for sport and recreation dollars. Armed with these documents, FAS approached Treasury Board for funding in September 1971. A lack of

detail concerning the criteria for funding, combined with concern over overlap with existing federal services, led the Treasury Board to reject this initial proposal (Ibid:2).

Undaunted, the Deputy Minister responsible for FAS turned to another federal department, DINA, for support. DINA was already involved in funding native recreation activities through a per capita recreation grant to Indian bands. They encouraged FAS to provide a program which would be complementary to their own, supporting sport and recreation activities between communities rather than directly on the reserve. In the same way, DINA offered a conditional acceptance of the FAS intention to fund provincial native associations, cautioning that dollars should be earmarked for sport-specific associations, rather than broader political organizations (DINA internal letter, 8 December 1971). This conditional endorsement of DINA, combined with a more detailed proposal, convinced Treasury Board to approve funding for the prairie province submissions in early 1972 (Meredith and Dedam; 1977:2).

Encouraged by this action, other native associations began requesting funding from FAS. In light of the increased demand for program dollars, a June 1972 joint memorandum was presented to Cabinet, signed by the Departments of Secretary of State, Indian Affairs, and Health and Welfare requesting the establishment of a native sport and recreation program administered by FAS. This was realized on September 14th, 1972, when Cabinet agreed that:

> . . . the Department of National Health and Welfare should provide, on a five-year experimental basis . . . assistance to organizations of native people for the purposes of developing sport and recreation programs on and between the reserves, with a view to broadening the participation base, increasing the quality and diversity of opportunities, and raising the level of performance to the point where native athletes will be able to participate in broader competitive events with other Canadians (Record of Cabinet decision, 14 September 1972).

DINA had warned both the FAS and the Cabinet that the FAS proposal would have to further clarify the approach intended for funding Metis people, since they fall under provincial jurisdiction (Supplementary Cabinet memorandum, 18 September 1972). Cabinet heeded their advice, and the September 14th approval for the experimental program was clarified as being only for treaty Indian and Inuit. The Sport Branch was directed to develop a comparable proposal for Cabinet which would deal specifically with the funding of Metis people (Ibid:3). The agreed approach endorsed by Cabinet in December 1972, legitimized funding for Metis people as a "disadvantaged group", along the same lines as women and the handicapped. Funding would be obtained from the enlarged coffers concomitantly awarded to FAS for general program expansion (Record of Committee decision, 19 December 1972).

The following spring, FAS staff met with provincial native associations across Canada for the first time, to inform them about the program and to get their views on implementation. A meeting was held with the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT (now the Dene Nation) on March 29, 1973. Also in attendance were representatives from DINA and the GNWT Recreation Division.

> Mr. [Cor] Westland advised the meeting that a support (the amount yet to be determined) program was available which was designed to increase participation and the level of performance of Indian peoples. This program did not permit the construction of facilities and was not to replace the Indian Affairs per capita grant of $5.00.
>
> It was also explained that assistance was not for a parallel structure to any now in existence in the Provinces or Territories. He asked for their views on implementation (Hancock, April 10, 1973).

The Indian Brotherhood felt that their Association should administer NSRP funds directly to community band chiefs, and requested funding for a meeting of representatives from 25 communities. They indicated that the band Councils had no effective influence on settlement Councils,

through which the GNWT recreation services presently flowed. FAS eventually provided $22,000 for ". . . a three day conference at which all bands will be represented for the purpose of formulating priority needs and developing a future program" (Westland, 1973).

After the meeting, the GNWT representative voiced his concern to FAS staff.

> The major concern of the Territorial Government [was] that of disturbing the equilibrium by means of the proposed program. At the present time, all inhabitants of the Territories received $5.00 per head for recreation; it [was] feared that unfair preference [would] be demonstrated if Indians, Metis and Eskimos are singled out for special treatment (Ibid).

The problem voiced by this representative was unique to the NWT situation, because native people, rather than being confined to reserves or Metis settlements, populated all NWT communities. Since native people were the large majority in all but a few communities, the GNWT was responsible daily for meeting native needs, as part of the mandate for meeting the larger community recreation needs.

FAS eventually dealt with the NWT situation by making NSRP funds available to both NWT native associations, and the GNWT. Two native associations took advantage of the program -- the Baffin Region Inuit Association and the Keewatin Inuit Association.[33] The GNWT used program funding to provide sport clinics, regional recreation workshops, and aquatic seminars.[34] The NSRP grant thus enabled the GNWT to offer programs which could not be funded within the existing Recreation Division budget.

Problems inherent in the NSRP were brought to light in the 1977 evaluation by FAS staff. The top-down approach to the program had enabled it to develop over the five years with minimal native or provincial government input. The lack of understanding by FAS of the culturally-

based nature of native sport and recreation had led them into a mandate area with which they felt uneasy. Poorly developed program criteria had not helped in the identification of "legitimate" activities. Inadequate technical advice from FAS, combined with improper funding guidelines more appropriate to a sport governing body had further deepened the gap between FAS perceptions and native community realities.

Another problem identified within the program was the use of primarily political native associations as the vehicle for developing sport and recreation. As expected, inadequate expertise and conflicting objectives both led to somewhat less than adequate use of FAS dollars (Meredith and Dedam, 1977:7-9).

Recommendations arising from the evaluation were surprising. It was suggested that the mandate for the program be taken from FAS and redirected to those departments which were most experienced with the clients -- DINA for the treaty Indian and Inuit, and Secretary of State for the Metis (Ibid:23-26). DINA refused to take over the program, claiming that they did not have the technical expertise required for proper administration. Almost by default, the status quo was maintained, and in late 1977 the program was given a two-year extension, on the condition that it would be phased out.

Two years passed, and still the debate over the program's continuation endured. In early 1980, the program was granted a six-month extension on the proviso that Cabinet would, upon receiving a submission from FAS, finally assess whether or not the program would continue, and if it continued, which department would be responsible (FAS, 5 November 1980).

The options laid before Cabinet were the same ones offered in the 1977 evaluation. They included 1) terminating the program altogether,

2) turning the treaty Indian and Inuit portions of the program over to Indian Affairs, and the Metis portion over to either Secretary of State or FAS, 3) providing funds directly to the national native associations, or 4) providing funds directly to the provinces for distribution (Ibid). The alternative chosen by Cabinet, however, was somewhat different this time. On December 5, 1980 a Cabinet memorandum stated that effective March 31, 1981, the native sport and recreation program would be terminated, with funds redirected for Indian health care.

This decision has been fought on several fronts. Native leaders continue to lobby for the reinstatement of a federal program for native people. Provincial and territorial Ministers for recreation have used the "Federal-Provincial Conference of Ministers Responsible for Sport and Recreation" forum for voicing their concern over the Cabinet decision, recommending that the situation be reviewed in terms of the program's cancellation, and the broader FAS objectives for the development of recreation and sport for native people. To date, FAS has remained immovable in their decision.

The Secretary of State, however, has made initial steps toward establishing a replacement program. Under the directive of the Assistant Deputy Minister, a Secretary of State employee was given six weeks in early 1982 to review present needs and opportunities in the area of recreation for native people (Burroughes, 2 March 1982). This review included consultations with regional Secretary of State staff familiar with native programs and representatives of native organizations in all provinces and territories. Although the program was originally planned to begin in June 1982, the Cabinet document which resulted from the review was unfortunately "put on the shelf" in light of higher Secretary of State priorities (Adams, April 1982).

Type of Activity

The federal government created the NSRP to encourage developmental sport and recreation programs for native people. Although these activities were for native clients, FAS expected that the projects funded would include solely euro-Canadian forms of sport. In fact, the nature of native sport and recreation was much more culturally oriented. Pow wows, Indian day celebrations, and traditional native activities were only some of the events carried out during the program's lifetime (Meredith and Dedam:7). FAS, with its much more narrow view of sport, ended up constantly struggling with the legitimacy of funding culturally-based, organized native activities under their developmental sport mandate.

Rationale

The objectives of the five-year experimental program were to assist native people develop their participation base in recreation, to increase the quality and variety of opportunities, and to raise the performance level so that native people could compete in broader euro-Canadian sport competition. Inherent in these objectives was the assumption that integration was the desired goal of native sport and recreation. Development of a segregated, parallel approach to sport and recreation was seen as the first step towards this goal, since ". . . where levels of performance and participation deviate markedly, initial segregation is the quickest way to integration" (FAS, 29 June 1973). What FAS did not appreciate was that opportunities for participation must exist to allow for a parallel system of recreation to develop, including accessibility to facilities and equipment. This program did not allow for capital expenditures, which were essential in the development of a parallel sport system.

The activities carried out under this program suggested that native people were not just interested in "mainstreaming" into the Canadian sports scene. Cultural events did not, however, fit well within the rigid sport guidelines laid out by FAS. This remained a contentious issue between FAS and native people throughout the life of the program.

FAS was generally within the federal mandate in providing a sport and recreation program for treaty Indian and Inuit people.[35] They crossed over into provincial jurisdiction, however, in providing funds for Metis sport and recreation. FAS justified its involvement in developmental activities for Metis people by claiming responsibility to provide for "disadvantaged groups" in Canada (Cabinet memorandum, 15 December 1972). It appeared from native community feedback, however, that the technical expertise required by natives to properly advance through sport and recreation development was never forthcoming from FAS (Meredith and Dedam:8). This is understandable since the technical expertise for sport and recreation development, so necessary at the provincial level, remained largely undeveloped in FAS, whose concern traditionally rests with elite sport.

Delivery System

The federal government funded this program through native associations, except in the case of the GNWT. In the NWT, Dene and Inuit people make up the majority of the population in most communities. The GNWT felt that it would be discriminatory to directly fund native people through the NSRP, when they supposedly had equal access to GNWT recreation services through the community settlement council.[36] FAS circumvented this problem by funding both native associations and the

GNWT through this program. Political native associations, for the most part, were the recipients of these grants.[37] Without sport management and skills expertise, these associations were often unable to maintain an effective program.[38] (Ibid:7). There was never any direct link created between the NSRP and community Councils, although GNWT services funded by this program would have been channeled through the Councils.

Problems of coordination were evident at the territorial level, and among Departments at the federal level. Lack of federal-provincial communication on projects sponsored by the NSRP led to overlaps in programs, and confusion on the part of community members in the NWT [39] (Adams, July 1980). At the federal level, an interdepartmental committee including the Departments of Health, Indian Affairs and Secretary of State was struck in 1972 by order of Cabinet, for the purpose of monitoring the program. Indications were, however, that the committee was never taken too seriously by the various departments involved, and it ceased to operate in 1975 (Meredith and Dedam:12).

Funding was awarded on a year by year basis, which prevented native associations from taking a more long-range approach to their sport development. Program criteria were neither adequately developed, nor particularly suited to the nature of native activities. Funding guidelines were inappropriate because they were based on the criteria for a sport governing body. While delays in funding were frustrating to native groups, administrative problems with financial accountability similarly frustrated federal bureaucrats (Ibid:7-9).

NWT Sport Associations

History

Sport associations have been recognized and supported by the

territorial government as far back as 1967. However, a GNWT program formally encouraging the development of territorial sport governing bodies was started in 1972. The reasons for developing such associations were clearly outlined at that time.

> Specific sports and recreation activities operating throughout the Northwest Territories require control, co-ordination and guidance to ensure efficient operation, and to gain maximum support from their Parent Association.
>
> Each activity should set up a NWT Association to carry out a method of control, and to provide a link with all National Associations (Recreation Division, "Sports and Recreation Governing Bodies", 1 September 1972).

Financial assistance was available for annual general meetings, and for some administrative costs.

The NWT had been involved in three Canada Games by 1972 -- Winter Games in 1967 and 1971, and Summer Games in 1969. In preparation for the 1973 Summer Games, coaches were imported from southern Canada to run six-week training camps for NWT athletes (Adams, November 1982). A review of NWT participation in the Games, and GNWT funding support for athletes was carried out afterwards. At that time, the territorial government was funding athletes for the AWG and the Canada Summer Games, but not for the Canada Winter Games. The review recognized the integral role which sport associations played in the Games.

> All sports in the Provinces have sophisticated governing bodies, whereas in the NWT not all sports have a governing body. The sport associations are a valuable asset in the organization and selection of teams (Recreation Division, 31 August 1973:2).

The option recommended in the review detailed as its first condition that the GNWT would "Support competition in Canada Summer Games where sports associations have been established for two years prior to the opening date of the games without playoffs" (Ibid:6). NWT teams and individuals from the AWG would also be supported to attend the Canada Winter Games.

This decision by the Recreation Division identified the important role they accorded NWT sport associations in selection and preparation of Games teams, and entrenched the primacy of these associations in the NWT sport delivery system. This primary position has been retained to the present -- NWT sport associations, where existent, are responsible for selecting teams for both the AWG and the Canada Games. Although selective involvement in the Canada Games has been a position of the GNWT since 1974 (Local Government, "NWT Involvement in Games", November 1974), criteria for selecting teams were not established until the 1981 Summer Games, when the Association was required to submit a two-year sport development plan including a training program and performance criteria for the potential athletes. This approach has been accepted and honed for the selection of future Canada Games Teams (Sport North Annual General Meeting, May 1982). Key responsibility is placed on the sport association, which receives funding directly to train selected teams for the Games.

Apart from their direct role in selecting and training teams for the Canada Games, and their role in arranging trials to select AWG teams, NWT sport associations were expected to develop their sport in communities across the territories (Hurley, May 1982). The development of the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP) provided a tool for this development, since the technical and practical portions of the program were to be administered by sport associations. Funding has been available yearly since 1977 for sport associations to offer technical clinics, while the Recreation Division sponsored the theory component of the program. NWT Associations have also had funding available to them to offer officiating and player development clinics. The availability of financial support for coaching, officiating and player development clinics

has increased the potential of sport associations to develop their sport in NWT communities.

Three recent programs have further contributed to the development of sport in the NWT. A competition travel assistance program was established in 1980, which provides for athletic growth through involvement in regional or territorial championships, or competitions outside the NWT where necessary (Sport North Annual General Meeting, 1981:10). This program recognized the need for travel dollars to attend competitions. Before this program developed, government financial assistance was restricted to leadership development through support for annual general meetings (administrative support) and coaching, officiating and player development clinics (skill specific leadership support).

The second program complemented the competition travel assistance program. On October 25th, 1981, Pacific Western Airlines signed an agreement with Sport North[40] to provide sport bulk fares in the NWT. The program allowed a 30% discount for athletes travelling on PWA whenever Sport North was used as the booking agency. Competition travel remains the greatest expense faced by NWT athletes. A program of this nature can therefore greatly increase the potential for sport competition, and thus for sport development. This program was renewed for 1982/83, and a second major airline, Northwest Territorial, has agreed to offer a similar program fo NWT athletes (Hurley, January 1983).

The third new initiative is the sport administration program, implemented in 1982, which is established to train volunteers in sport associations to run their affairs. This project is modelled after the same program already operating through the sport federation in Saskatchewan, Sask Sport. The first course was held in Yellowknife in January

1983.

Type of Activity

Sport associations in the NWT provide for developmental sport activities. One of the original reasons presented by the GNWT for the formation of territorial sport associations was "to provide a link with all National Associations". Involvement in the Canada Games provided an impetus to sport associations in the North; these Games also required that the associations affiliate with their National Sports Governing Bodies and field teams which could perform in a euro-Canadian sport competition setting.

Rationale

Responsibility for developing sport has been largely devolved from the GNWT to NWT sport associations. Funding to the Associations has reflected this responsibility, with grants available for annual meetings, sports clinics, competition travel, and preparation of Canada Games teams. NWT associations are also required to select AWG teams. GNWT expectations for the Associations were outlined in 1972. The government felt that sport and recreation activities required "control, coordination and guidance" to operate efficiently and gain acceptance nationally. NWT associations were thus mandated to carry out a method of control, and to provide a link to National Associations. Finally, they were expected to take on the responsibility of fielding, and sometimes training NWT teams for AWG and Canada Games competitions.[41]

Delivery System

NWT sport associations were initially funded directly by the Recreation Division. The delivery system changed, however, with the

formation of the Sport North Federation in 1976. This idea was first presented to the Executive Committee two years earlier. On August 19, 1974, the Recreation Division made a presentation to the GNWT Executive Committee concerning the future of government responsibility in the AWG and the Canada Games. Recognizing that increasing AWG costs required expanded support from the public, businesses and sport associations, the report recommended

> The establishment of a territorial sports federation, to undertake fundraising duties, improve communication and travel efficiency and foster the development and administration of sports applicable to the NWT. . . be investigated (Local Government, NWT Involvement in Games, November 1974:1).

A staff member, Ray Goulet, had already been ". . . sowing the seeds for the development of a sports federation tentatively entitled 'Sports North'" (Ibid). The Division promoted this move, which would transfer responsibilities for sports events from the GNWT to "Sports North", by suggesting

> We are optimistic that the establishment of such an organization will, over a period of time, decrease the financial and administrative commitments of the Territorial Government in relation to sports and athletics.

The Division also noted that a division of responsibilities and roles for sport between the two agencies would have to be clearly established if this proposed Federation was given responsibility for administering government programs.

Sport North, a non-profit, non-government organization representing sport in the NWT, was incorporated on October 8, 1976. The Federation was comprised initially of fifteen NWT sport associations, a membership which has increased to twenty-eight in 1982. Sport North was mandated to administer GNWT sport grants to territorial associations through an agreement signed between the Federation and the GNWT.[42] Additional

revenue is gained through the Western Canada Lottery, since Sport North was given territorial marketing responsibility for the administration of the lottery in the NWT. This additional source of income enables the Federation to be partially self-supporting, and also to initiate some programs of its own choosing, contingent on Ministerial approval. All other programs have guidelines established by the Recreation Division.

The GNWT provides Sport North with an annual administrative grant, as well as funds for the programs administered by the Federation for annual general meetings, sport clinics, AWG and Canada Games. The grants are distributed by Sport North committees to NWT associations. The Associations must apply for annual general meeting and sport clinic grants by October 15 of each year. The Grants Committee then distributes available funds in accordance with preestablished criteria (Sport North Annual General Meeting, 1981). An Arctic Winter Games Committee retains direct control over the funds accorded to the AWG, while the Canada Games Committee distributes the grant money for this event to the appropriate NWT sport associations. Sport North is held accountable for all revenue and expenditures through a yearly audit; the Federation likewise demands that NWT associations are accountable for the funds they receive.

The GNWT retains direct control over certain aspects of the Canada Games and AWG,[43] the sponsoring of NCCP theory clinics, and grants for sport associations aspiring to eventually become NWT sport associations. These duties are the responsibility of the sport development officer, who also liaises with Sport North, and sits on many of their committees in an ex officio capacity (Gosselin, May 1982).

Sport associations are expected, where possible, to be compatible with national sport governing bodies. However, the vastness of the NWT

has limited the sport associations' ability to mirror their southern counterparts. Interest in "sports" cannot be assumed for all communities for a variety of reasons. The facility or equipment necessary to play the sport may not be available.[44] Environmental conditions may not be conducive to the activity.[45] Coaching, if available, is usually transient because of the dearth of native leaders.[46] Competition opportunities are scarce, and expensive. Finally, the nature of the activity may not appeal to people who have been raised in a native cultural tradition.

These factors have contributed towards the flexibility accorded to "recognized" NWT sport associations. The potential for a sport association to be territorial in nature varies with the requirements of the sport. High travelling costs inhibit the number of competitive opportunities which can be held, and thus the chance for athletes to develop through competitive experience. Communication between communities is difficult, and with the large number of transients involved in the sport system, turnovers in administrative and community leadership are understandably high, leading to resultant problems with program continuity. These problems contribute towards the variety of associations which exist for sport in the North.

Although most associations have national counterparts in Ottawa, a few associations, such as indoor soccer and snowshoeing are unique to the North. These associations have formed because of the sport's inclusion in the AWG. Arctic sports has been considered as a potential NWT sport association for this reason (Hurley, December 1980). These organizations reflect sports which are particularly suited to the North, but are still expected to comply with the regulations of all other NWT sport associations.

Contact with communities is regularly done through existing clubs. Thus, there is no direct link created between the sport association and the community council or recreation committee. This has caused problems in most of the smaller communities because they do not have clubs established, and thus are neither aware of, nor made aware of the services available. As a result, smaller communities rarely benefit from sport association opportunities.

Associations are presently responsible for coordinating their involvement in any AWG or Canada Games events. Apart from this, there are no other specific programming expectations established. Administrative expectations include incorporation as a society and yearly financial accountability.

Community Recreation Support

History

Support to communities for recreation has maintained a fairly regular pattern. Areas of emphasis included general funding, equipment, facility support, and leadership development. Financial contributions for sport have primarily been channeled through sport associations, although an above-ground pool program has been geared to communities specifically.

General Funding: The GNWT has provided a per capita grant to communities since the government shifted to Yellowknife in 1967. At that time, the federal-provincial agreement with FAS provided the GNWT with an annual per capita grant in order to carry out recreation programs. As late as 1973, the community had to apply for the grant, submitting a recreation budget confirmed by Council which listed activities, total cost of those activities, and membership fees charged by each club for the activities

(Recreation Division, 1 April 1973). The grant provided $5.00 per capita to a maximum of $25,000. The maximum was subsequently dropped, although the grant has remained stable at $5.00 per capita to the present.[47] The grant is now awarded automatically to all recognized NWT communities.

In 1977, the GNWT reassessed the per capita grant, since the larger communities, which also had a tax base, were the major beneficiaries of the program. A new program, the front-end administrative grant, (later renamed the recreation administration grant), was begun primarily to benefit non-tax base communities in 1978. Unlike the per capita grant, which was unconditionally awarded to communities, specific conditions were set for this program. Council had to establish an acceptable recreation bylaw with terms of reference, and file the document with the GNWT. Thus, this "equalizing" grant had an underlying purpose -- "guided development" towards the preferred GNWT delivery system for community recreation.

> With the implementation of a front-end grant program, we are emphasizing the development of a recreation association board [my emphasis] and providing another source of funding for the community to purchase recreation equipment (Recreation Division, Draft of Community Recreation Grant, circa 1977).

Municipalities were predictably upset over the consistent grant amount for all types of communities. The guidelines for the program were altered by 1980 to distinguish between municipalities ($5,000 per year), hamlets ($4,000 per year) and settlements ($3,000 per year). The grant remained conditional, however, on the community developing a recreation bylaw and terms-of-reference. This expectation has been the major impetus behind the creation of recreation bylaws and committees in a number of NWT communities.

Equipment: Equipment is an integral part of most recreation activities.

In 1974, a program was created specifically to meet that need. A grant to a maximum of $400.00 was available on a 50/50 matched basis to communities planning to initiate a new recreation activity (Recreation Division, February 1975). Equipment donated to the Recreation Division was also distributed among the communities.

An earlier per capita grant had been available to assist communities in obtaining non-personal equipment such as a balance beam. Populations of 1,500 or fewer were eligible for $1.50 per capita, while communities over 1,500 received $1.00 per capita. Both these programs indicated that the Recreation Division was aware of the need for equipment aid in communities. The philosophy of the Division shifted, however, from creating special purpose grants[48] towards block funding which enabled the community to establish its own priorities.[49] Apart from occasional film projectors, the Division no longer provides support for community recreation equipment.[50]

Facilities: Support for construction of community recreation facilities has existed since 1967. Eventually two programs were available -- the community centres grant, and the outdoor facilities grant. Both programs were available in three-year cycles, offering the community a 50/50 matched grant with volunteer labour and donated materials acceptable as part of the community contribution. The grants varied in the funding provided. The community centres grant had a maximum GNWT contribution of $75,000 within the three year period, while the outdoor facilities grant provided $5,000 maximum.

Problems followed these programs throughout their lifetime. Funding was inadequate to meet ever-increasing construction costs. Resultant facilities reflected this situation, with buildings often

constructed with poor planning or project management, and low quality materials. Volunteer labour, although a good concept in principle, often led to delays in construction and inadequate labour skills. Federal manpower grants were often obtained to help offset high construction costs, but without coordination between the federal and territorial programs, resultant efforts inhibited rather than contributed to the eventual facility.[51] (Recreation Facilities Policy presentation, August 1981).

In response to problems such as these, a submission was presented to the Executive Committee on February 7, 1973. The new program focused on the idea of a community complex, which could be built in stages.

> The basic element is the community centre which will provide for a meeting place and activity centre for clubs, associations, and social activities as well as limited sports activities.
> With the interest and participation in curling the next phase should be a curling rink. These phases should be a combined structure to reduce the costs of operation and maintenance. This complex or phase should be available to all communities and form the basis for future expansion (Recreation Division, proposal for Community Centres grant, 1973).

The Executive Committee approved the program in principle, but demanded that several changes be made. It was eight years before the Executive Committee would have an opportunity to consider the revised facilities program. On September 27, 1981, approval-in-principle was once again bestowed by the Executive Committee upon a program to construct community recreation facilities (Executive Committee record, 27 September 1981). This program, however, was part of a larger recreation facilities policy, encompassing programs for facility construction, facility operating costs, and community recreation plans. More latitude was given to the community in their choice of facilities; a well-defined process had been developed, however, to ensure that facility priorities were carefully

determined. A combination gym-community hall (referred to as a multi-purpose hall) was identified as the recreation facility considered "most basic" to a community. The policy is scheduled for full implementation in 1983 (Adams, November 1982).

The 1981 facilities policy identified three programs which were essential to satisfactory facility development, the Core Facilities program, the Additional Facilities program and the Community Planning program (Recreation Facilities Policy, Draft, September 1981). The community recreation planning program was structured to aid the community in detailing their facility needs. Community submissions for construction grants oftentimes reflected the desires of a small sector of the community, which varied depending on the interests of the current applicants (Adams, August 1980). As long as the recreation planning program is kept flexible, it will greatly aid in ensuring community-wide identification of facility needs.

Along with construction dollars, both the Core and the Additional Facilities program will provide GNWT funding for the operation and maintenance of recreation facilities. A Recreation Division program was established in 1977 to provide for the operating costs of recreation facilities. This utilities assistance contribution program was based on a clearly defined need of the communities, but failed in its ability to meet that need. The program offered reimbursement for 40% of community recreation facility heating and electricity costs, for the first 5,000 gallons of fuel and 10,000 kilowatt hours of electricity (Utilities Assistance Grant form, 1978). Unfortunately, these maximums translated into the provision of a very small amount of money, (about $3,000 in 1981/82) for a fairly extensive application process. Communities had

to submit heating and electricity bills to the maximums allowed, in order to be reimbursed for only 40% of that amount. This grant was an "administrative nightmare" for the applicant, and also for the bureaucrat who had to translate the support documents into a form suitable for determining the community's reimbursement (Gosselin, November 1980). Meanwhile, the eventual grant still covered only about 12% of the operating costs of a small community hall. In comparison, the new programs include an automatic operating and maintenance grant yearly, calculated using preestablished formulas. The new program will also fund an increased percentage of the operating costs -- 70% for multi-purpose halls, and 50% for skating and curling facilities. Outdoor playgrounds and playfields are eligible for a small maintenance grant.

Leadership Development: Three types of leadership are involved in community recreation -- administrative, programming and skill specific. Efforts have been made by the GNWT to contribute towards the development of each of these forms of leadership to some degree.

Funding for leadership and sports clinics was provided by the GNWT as early as 1967. The skill specific leadership expectations were transferred from the community to specific sports associations fairly quickly; by 1972, a specific program had been established for sports and recreation governing bodies (Recreation Division, 1 September 1972). Sport associations continued growing as the legitimate sponsors for sports activities after that time, offering skill-specific leadership opportunities through NCCP clinics.

A combination of administrative and programming leadership has been the focus of Recreation Division regional and community workshops. These workshops were usually oriented to community recreation committee

members. Issues discussed have been fairly standard, such as the 1975 Frobisher Bay Leadership Training workshop, where agenda items included "what is recreation?", leadership characteristics, program planning and development, assessing individual and community needs, recognizing and mobilizing resources, and instruction of Inuit games (Adams, 31 December 1975). Specific community workshops have also been held by recreation officers to aid communities in developing a recreation bylaw and terms-of-reference for the operation of their recreation committee. Administrative training packages have been prepared to this end, for aspects of recreation such as recreation by-laws, budgeting and volunteerism, with more packages planned as community administrative skills develop (Adams, October 1982).

Support for programming leaders and leadership development began in the early 1970's, when community recreation directors were funded up to $8,000 yearly by the GNWT. As well, recreation leaders were provided to certain communities during the summers of 1972 and 1973. These summer leaders were trained in recreation in southern Canada. Once this program ended, communities wishing to hire summer leaders usually turned to federal manpower grants to fund their employees. Plans to integrate federal and territorial programs for summer leaders arose in the Baffin in 1982. The training period for leaders was to be provided by the GNWT regional recreation officer, with subsequent community programs funded by manpower grants. Many communities did not get their applications in to the federal government; thus, the pilot project was unable to be realized (MacIsaac, April 1982). A small programming leadership workshop was held in Inuvik, comparable in intent to the Baffin pilot project (Smith, June 1982). This seminar, although not extensive,

does demonstrate a direction being taken by the Recreation Division towards improved programming leadership.

Once the GNWT stopped its funding program for recreation directors, support was shifted to developing a community recreation director's training program, and offering territorial recreation directors' workshops. The first workshop, held April 18-21, 1975 included primarily items normally covered in regional workshops. This service has evolved into a seminar for recreation administrators from the major municipalities, only two of which presently are recreation directors. Members at this meeting discuss common concerns based on their own interests, with Recreation Division staff providing expertise where requested (Butler, March 1981). Specific territorial-wide training seminars, for items such as arena maintenance, are planned in the future to provide specific programming skills, but will be geared to facility maintenance employees rather than recreation administrators (Fowlow, June 1982).

Much effort went into preparing the recreation director's training program. It developed to the point where an application for federal assistance was made for a program which would start in March 1979, involving three years of training in Yellowknife and on the job. Concerns over the future employment of such leaders in NWT communities led to the shelving of this program before it was tried.

Aquatics: Although funds for sport were primarily channeled through specific associations, the GNWT did provide support for "specialist activities" which has "social and survival connotations" such as teaching swimming and the TEST program. For these programs, equipment and qualified instructors were provided to assist in the conduct of the programs

(Recreation Division, "Priorities for Financial Assistance", circa 1973:6). Both programs started as community projects in 1964, and grew to merit federal government assistance by 1967. The aquatics program was specifically directed towards individual communities, requiring community initiative before they were included in the project.

The first aquatics program was held on Frame Lake in Yellowknife in 1964. The community requested help from the Red Cross in Edmonton after its successful first year, and the program's continuing success prompted the GNWT Recreation Division to provide financial support for portable pools (Scott, 1972:32). These pools were introduced because the bodies of water accessible to communities were largely unsuited for learning survival swimming; heated, portable pools were felt to be a better milieu (Ibid:24). Pools were placed primarily in the Western Arctic, with a few in the East.[52] A flexible three year program to train local leaders began at Grandin College, and by 1971, ten native leaders had been trained (Ibid:45-6). The program ended when the College closed, and subsequent leaders have come almost exclusively from Southern Canada.

Government funding has been provided at times by the GNWT, FAS, and DINA (Ibid:46), while technical assistance was provided by the Red Cross Water Safety Director. The program has always required a substantial commitment on the part of the community. Under the present program guidelines, the GNWT provides the pool and pool materials, hires, trains and places the instructor in the community, and provides 50% of the lifeguard's salary. The community must apply for the program each year through a Council motion. They are responsible for 50% of the instructor's salary, and furnished, free accommodation. The pool must have a suitable location, preferably covered, which is heated, with showers, change rooms and washrooms. A local assistant must be provided and paid by the

Council, and any labour necessary to erect the pool must be volunteered. All utilities costs must be borne by the community (Recreation Division, Above-Ground Pool Program, 1980).

Type of Activity

Government support to communities has been provided primarily for an infrastructure within which recreation opportunities can be made available. This infrastructure is similar to one found in any community in Southern Canada. Facilities to play in, and leaders to offer and administer the programs were both recognized as needs by the GNWT, which provided the large majority of recreation support to communities. These priorities were primarily necessary for the development of organized euro-Canadian recreation, since traditional activities could be played anywhere with equipment made out of local materials. Developmental leadership opportunities, be they for sport or traditional activities, were provided at the discretion of territorial associations, which too often did not service the smaller, less accessible communities.

Rationale

The stated purpose of the Recreation Division is "to contribute to the maximum well-being of residents of the NWT by meeting their recreation and cultural needs" (Recreation Division, Role of the Division, 1980:7). The objectives include 1) promoting recreation values and attitudes to improve participation, 2) financially supporting facilities and programs, 3) developing leadership skills, and 4) providing technical advice on the orderly development of recreation, including increased access to available programs. Most of these objectives are in keeping with the idea of "guided recreation" whereby communities are taught

about recreation. This is felt to be necessary since

> . . . recreation is a social service in the same way that health and education are considered as social services. . . recreation's purpose should be (a) to assist individual and community development (b) to improve the quality of life, and (c) to enhance social functioning (Recreation Ministers' Conference, 1974).

Thus, GNWT recreation services were provided because they were considered a basic social service.

Federal aid to communities was supplied for a different reason. The main services came from the Department of Manpower and Immigration whose mandate was to promote employment projects. Many of these projects, however, ended up with a leisure connotation (Burton and Kyllo, 1974:64).

Delivery System

GNWT recreation services are provided through the Recreation Division, presently with the Department of Local Government. The Division was first located with Local Government when the territorial government moved to Yellowknife in 1967. A regional officer was located in the Baffin in 1970. This move towards decentralization of services was further aided by Local Government Development Officers, who delivered recreation services in the field by 1974. At that time, full-time recreation directors funded in part by the GNWT were located in all incorporated municipalities (Programs of the GNWT, September 1974).

Decentralization efforts were thwarted, however, when recreation was moved to the newly formed Department of Natural and Cultural Affairs in 1975. Game management officers were now the regional department staff, a channel totally unsuited to the delivery of community recreation services because their expertise lay in renewable rather than human resources. In 1976, recreation staff recognized that regional recreation officers would have to be hired if the objective of decentralization was

to be met. Plans were to hire the first regional officer by April 1977. It took another year before the first position was filled in the Keewatin. This remained the only regional position existing for recreation until January 1981 when an officer was appointed to staff the Baffin region. An Inuvik regional officer was hired in late 1981, and the Ft. Smith position was filled in November 1982. The Central Arctic position, which will complete the regional officer slate, has already been advertised.

This expansion was aided in large part by a return of the Division to the Department of Local Government in October 1979. The Division was returned to its former location because of the GNWT wish to support recreation in a more decentralized fashion -- a thrust emphasized by Local Government (Andress, August 1980). Along with the shift towards decentralization, the Division was expected to recognize community councils as the delivery channel for community recreation services, in keeping with the Department's "Direction for the '80's" document, which identified the community council as the sole body through which the community can assume and exercise authority (Recreation Division, draft of Community Recreation Development Leadership Training Program, 1980). This concept has been totally adhered to by the Recreation Division, which began a strong compaign to encourage local recreation committees accountable to Council. The chief of the Recreation Division noted in a letter that

> . . . we (the Recreation Division) acknowledge community councils as the prime body responsible for public recreation and support formal reporting links between Council and the Recreation Committee. It is our policy not to use Government funds to support community recreation bodies that do not report through established channels to their community councils (Adams, 1980).

Although regional workshops brought together representatives from the

various communities, regional recreation structures were approached with caution, since

> It is (the NWT) Government's position that responsibility can only be devolved from one level of government to a second (Territorial to community). Regional structures have the potential and often the tendency to assume responsibility that, in effect, supercedes the authority of local governments (Ibid).

Regional recreation boards would, however, have a place if they were initiated and supported by the community governments with clearly established responsibilities.

Federal government departments were not as stringent in their delivery approach. Community councils, band councils, associations and community groups could all apply for Manpower and Immigration grants, as well as Secretary of State grants. FAS grants reached the community through either the GNWT channel, or the native political organizations. DINA provided services through the band councils for Dene people, community councils for Inuit recipients, and native groups.

The GNWT supported block funding for general purpose grants. This method gave Council responsibility for establishing their expenditure priorities, as contrasted with special purpose grants, which tended to restrict Council's ability to determine its own priorities (Elkin to the Minister, 22 July 1980). Unfortunately, only two grants fit within this category -- the per capita grant and the recreation administration grant. Special purpose grants to the community presently include facility construction and operation grants, and the summer above-ground pool grant. These programs must be applied for each time the community wishes to access them.

There are no programming guidelines placed on the community use of the block grants. On the other hand, the special purpose grants for

facility construction and summer above-ground pools are far more detailed in their program expectations. Administrative requirements for the block grants are more stringent. The per capita grant requires that the governing body recognize recreation as a responsibility. This is not enforced, however, and the grant is awarded automatically. The recreation administration grant requires as a prerequisite that the community council has accepted responsibility for recreation through a resolution or bylaw, with concomitant terms of reference developed. Financial accountability is not required for the block grants, although it is an administrative expectation for the special purpose grants.

Summary

The seven major programs for recreation in the NWT demonstrate several interesting patterns with respect to the way federal and territorial governments have dealt with northern recreation. Programs established for sport have been conceived and organized by southern Canadians often within a government structure. These programs have utilized a euro-Canadian developmental approach which has been supported, often on an ongoing basis, by both the federal and the territorial governments. Efforts have been directed towards "mainstreaming" these programs, along with their delivery systems, into the larger Canadian sports scene where possible. Programming and administrative expectations were set accordingly. In programs where the organizers were primarily native, the events have occurred at an organizational rather than a developmental level.

Programs which contribute toward the celebration and preservation of cultural recreation patterns have been conceived and organized by native people within the communities themselves. Although the

objectives of these groups are developmental in nature, most times the activities are organized rather than developmental in actuality. These groups have had to continue petitioning governments for ongoing financial support for their activities. Financial aid has been provided primarily through general department programs which are geared to supporting the efforts of native people to retain their cultural traditions. Although some administrative expectations are now established by the government for the groups, there have been no attempts made at creating programming requirements.

History

In the mid 1960's, GNWT recreation programs focused on community recreation through per capita and facility construction grants. These areas of funding were both expanded in the late 1970's, to include another general grant, the recreation administration grant (1978), and a utilities assistance grant (1977-1983), designed to help with the operating costs of recreation facilities. A facilities policy has recently been approved by the GNWT Executive Committee which will greatly bolster construction and operating grants to the communities beginning in 1983.

Grants were also provided to sports associations in the 1960's. A program beginning in 1972 encouraged the formation of territorial sport associations. These associations played an important role in the selection, and sometimes the training of NWT teams which had been selected to represent the Territories at the Canada Games (inaugurated in 1967) and the AWG (started in 1970). The Sport North Federation was created in 1976 as an umbrella organization which would administer

government programs to sport associations, and which would also serve as a lobby voice for sport needs. Funding was supplied to sport associations for annual general meetings and sport clinics (primarily NCCP). Funding for competition travel was available from Sport North beginning in 1980, and in 1981 sport "bulk" fares, which provide a discount for athletes with respect to their air flight costs, became available. A sport administration program was begun in 1982.

Two other sport programs were begun in the 1960's. The TEST program, beginning in 1967, operated out of Inuvik using a National Fitness Council grant. Several elite native skiers were produced who subsequently represented Canada at international competitions. The program focus was altered from a purely elite focus to include a recreational element in 1973. Federal funding ceased soon after, and the GNWT continued to fund the program on a year-by-year basis, until it was finally established as a budget item in 1982.

The aquatics program began at the same time as the TEST program. Federal funds were also available initially for this program, which was created to teach survival water skills to northerners. "Corky", a barge with an above-deck pool, was floated down the Mackenzie River during the course of which it stopped at several communities. Eventually, an above-ground pool program was established which has been run primarily in western arctic communities, although some communities in the eastern arctic have also operated programs.

The Northern Games were created in 1970 in reaction to the AWG format which mirrored the Canada Games, a southern Canada sport competition. This native festival has encouraged Inuit and Dene people to celebrate traditional activities at an annual gathering. Communities

from the northwest and the eastern NWT, as well as participants from the Yukon and Alaska have attended the Northern Games. The Dene Games were begun in 1977 as a comparable gathering for native communities in the southwest NWT. Both of these festivals continue to be organized and attended almost exclusively by native people.

The federally funded NSRP had a short lifespan (1972-1981), but within that time it was used by two native political associations for the creation of leadership programs, as well as by the GNWT for their territorial-wide leadership efforts. Poor communication between governments, as well as minimal native input into the program, led to dissatisfaction with the format of the NSRP. To date, there has not been a federal replacement for this program.

Type of Activity

There were government-funded programs for both sports and traditional activities in the NWT, which were intended to be developmental in nature. Sport programs included the AWG, the TEST program, the NSRP and funding to sport associations. The Dene Games and the Northern Games were both funded as traditional, "cultural" activities, although the Dene Games included sports activities in its program. Funding for community recreation allowed for an organized recreation infrastructure to be created, although developmental aid for activities was channeled through territorial associations. Events which were run by native people tended to be organized rather than developmental in nature. The only ongoing programs which maintained a majority of native participants were those organzied by native people.

Rationale

Federal funding for NWT recreation programs was justified either as support to a disadvantaged group of Canadians, or as aid toward the cultural retention of native activities. Sport programs were supported to help northerners eventually mainstream into euro-Canadian sports competitions. Thus an emphasis was placed on the creation of northern organizations which linked with their national counterparts, and northern competitive experiences tended to mirror southern Canadian events. Meanwhile, native groups were funded in their attempts to document traditional activities. However, the provision of ongoing financial support, vital if these activities were to be celebrated on a regular basis as well as documented, was eventually rejected as a federal responsibility.

The GNWT had a similar approach to recreation activities. Native recreation associations were supported in their efforts to provide "multicultural events", while a separate delivery system for sport was developed which provided acceptable euro-Canadian recreation opportunities. Sport associations were encouraged, where possible, to link with the national sport governing bodies, thus developing a national relationship akin to associations in all other parts of Canada. The GNWT also recognized that recreation, and especially developmental recreation, was a right of all northerners.

Delivery System

Sport programs had clearly defined delivery systems modelled after those of southern Canada. The projects were usually administered by euro-Canadians already familiar with the expected "southern" approach to sport administration and programming . Annual reports, audited

statements and "professional" evaluations all helped contribute towards a government acceptance of these programs. This led to a fairly consistent pattern of funding for such activities.

Northern Games aptly portray the ambivalence accorded by governments to "cultural" events. Much of the Association's efforts each year were directed towards applying for funding from numerous government agencies. Funding support fluctuated based on the financial condition of the government departments. Tightening budgets in the late 1970's led to a concomitant and drastic reduction in federal funds to the Northern Games. Fortunately, GNWT contributions have been increased to compensate in part for the federal withdrawal. The NGA has been instructed, however, to become more administratively sound if they wish to receive territorial funding. This direction includes the incorporation of the Association, and ongoing financial accountability. No programming expectations have been identified for such cultural endeavours to date.

Delivery channels for NWT recreation have not been consistent. The GNWT requires that programs they deliver are directed through the community council. Meanwhile, sport programs funded by the GNWT but delivered by Sport North operate through sport associations which have no linkage with the councils. At the federal level, delivery channels are much less stringent. Native associations, band councils and various community groups have all been legitimate recipients of federal grants, as well as community councils and sport associations.

ANALYSIS SUMMARY - CHAPTER III

A) Type of Activity Funded by Government

GOVERNMENT PROGRAM	TYPE OF ACTIVITY			
	SPORT		TRADITIONAL ACTIVITY	
	ORGANIZED	DEVELOPMENTAL	ORGANIZED	DEVELOPMENTAL
Arctic Winter Games		actual		
Northern Games			actual	proposed/ actual
Dene Games	actual		actual	proposed
TEST		actual		
NSRP		proposed/ actual	actual	
NWT Sport Associations		actual		
Community Recreation	actual		actual	

B) Government Department Rationales

Rationale	PROGRAM						
	AWG	NG	DG	TEST	NSRP	SA	CR
1. provide for a disadvantaged region in Canada, primarily native, and/or encouraging eventual mainstreaming with national projects.	FAS	FAS DINA		FAS GNWT	FAS	GNWT	
2. provide for multi-cultural needs, especially the retention of native activities		SS GNWT	GNWT				
3. organized and/or developmental recreation as a right	GNWT						GNWT

C) Delivery System

	PROGRAM						
	AWG	NG	DG	TEST	NSRP	SA	CR
1. delivery channel							
-linked to council							X
-linked to native associations		X			X		
-linked to sport associations	X			X		X	
nature of funding source							
-ongoing commitment	FAS GNWT (as of 1970 for both)	GNWT (as of 1981)	GNWT (as of 1981)	GNWT (as of 1981)		GNWT	GNWT
-year by year commitment		DINA SS FAS GNWT (prior to 1981)	GNWT (prior to 1981)	GNWT (prior to 1981)	X		M + I
programming requirements							
-outlined	X			X	outlined but not followed	X	specific grants block grants
-undefined		X	X				
administrative requirements							
-incorporation (ie formalized)	GNWT	GNWT	GNWT	GNWT		GNWT	accountable to council
-financial accountability	GNWT FAS	GNWT FAS DINA SS	GNWT	GNWT FAS	FAS	GNWT	GNWT M + I

SS: Secretary of State
M + I: Manpower and Immigration
NG: Northern Games
DG: Dene Games
SA: NWT Sport Association
CR: Community Recreation support

Notes

1. DINA Minister John Munro has just announced a new approach for GNWT annual funding, whereby the territorial government will make its case directly to the Treasury Board. Within this block funding approach, the GNWT will have far greater flexibility for setting its own priorities.

2. The 10 sports performed in the 1970 AWG were badminton, basketball, boxing, curling, figure skating, hockey, shooting, cross-country skiing, table tennis and volleyball.

3. Sportspeople attending the 1972 AWG included Doug Rogers (judo Olympic medallist), Petra Burka (world champion figure skater), Harry Jerome (Olympic gold medallist for the 100 yard dash) and Dave Richardson (1972 Olympics bobsledder).

4. Northern Quebec entered as a "unit" in the Games in 1972, and continued to compete in the AWG until 1976, after which they stopped participating because of the high cost for the team.

5. Each participating territory or state is commonly referred to as a "unit"; thus, the three initial "units" were the NWT, the Yukon and Alaska. Arctic Quebec was the fourth "unit" while they competed in the AWG.

6. The first report by G.R. Shelley and Associates Limited, was The Impact and Achievements of the Arctic Winter Games, 1968-1976. The second report, by Makale and Kyllo Planning Associates Limited, was The Arctic Winter Games 1978-1982: An Analysis.

7. An example of the FAS view of the competitive level of the Games was included in a February 16, 1972 internal memo by A.J. Fraser.

> The calibre of competition is of very mediocre class in relationship to other areas of Canada and thus represents a low level international area of competition. It is probably the only existing means by which residents of the Territories will be sufficiently skilled, except in isolated instances such as cross-country skiing, to participate in international competition (p. 2).

8. The other two FAS endeavours into native "sport" were both eventually stopped because the activities carried out by native people were seen as being outside of the euro-Canadian sport mandate of FAS. The two projects were the Northern Games, and the NSRP.

9. In an internal FAS note to the Minister (April 6, 1977), it was recommended that Branch support to the AWG be continued, in part because ". . . withdrawal of Branch support to this activity could have broad political ramifications."

10. This contrasts with the federal approach to Northern Games funding, which has largely fallen within more general programs which were then applied to the Northern Games situation.

11. Recreation Division regional officers are now expected to ensure that information on the AWG is obtained by the various community recreation committees, and to facilitate ongoing communication between the sport associations and the community.

12. Events for the 1970 AWG (the first held) were all found in the Canada Games.

13. The Delta Drummers formed in 1966 as a group of traditional Inuit drummers and dancers who subsequently demonstrated their skills throughout Canada.

14. The format for Northern Games includes traditional games and contests, the good woman contest, and fiddling and dancing. Traditional games and contests include events like one-foot high kick, one-hand reach, musk-ox push and ear pull. Good woman contests include events like tea boiling, duck plucking, muskrat skinning, bannock making, sewing and crafts contest, and fish cutting.

15. Secretary of State provided a $22,000 travel and exchange grant to bring Baffin, Keewatin and Central Arctic representatives to the Northern Games.

16. The project was funded in part through a New Horizons grant, as well as some GNWT funding.

17. The GNWT sponsored a planning workshop in Coppermine, at a cost of $7,500.

18. Eventual federal funding amounted to $15,000, down from the 1976 high of $92,000.

19. The three main Northern Games federal funding sources were DINA, the Secretary of State and FAS (presently of the Secretary of State). The main territorial funding source was the Recreation Division (Department of Local Government).

20. Demonstrations of native activities (games and dances) have been held at the Montreal Olympics, the Edmonton Commonwealth Games, the Calgary Stampede, the Edmonton Klondike Days, the Vancouver Pacific National Exhibition, Ontario Place in Toronto, the AWG, the Indian and Eskimo Olympics in Fairbanks, Alaska, the Canada Summer Games in Thunder Bay, and San Francisco (Inuit/Dene Games Booklet, Ft. McPherson, July 24-27, 1981).

21. Dene Games were documented at 1976 workshops in Ft. Franklin and Ft. McPherson (using funds from a New Horizons grant), while Inuit Games were recorded at a 1978 workshop held in Edmonton (funded by a Canada Employment grant).

22. Occasional leadership development workshops have been held for native games, such as a 1976 week long workshop funded by the Secretary of State.

23. Some leadership workshops were followed by salaried part-time positions for the leaders in their community. In 1973, a cultural inclusion grant funded leaders in schools in Inuvik, Old Crow and Baker Lake. The 1978 Edmonton workshop was followed by community native games programs. A federal manpower grant funded a similar community network of leaders in the summer of 1982.

24. There were never any formal terms-of-reference for the position of coordinator. The Board of Directors existed in name, but did not have regular meetings prior to greater formalization of the Association in 1980.

25. The NGA was supported administratively by COPE in its initial stages. The Keewatin NGA also is affiliated with the Keewatin Inuit Association.

26. The Central Arctic NGA made a presentation to the newly formed regional organization. The regional body subsequently pledged $6,000 towards the 1982 Northern Games.

27. The Recreation Division financial review of Northern Games showed
    1977/78: $6,900 surplus
    1978/79: $48,000 deficit, thus a $41,000 deficit overall
    1979/80: $10,400 surplus, thus a $31,000 deficit overall
    1980/81: $20,600 deficit, thus a $50,400 deficit overall

28. The information included on the Dene-U Celebration Committee was provided by Dennis Adams, Chief of the Recreation Division.

29. The lack of knowledge on traditional Dene games was noted by Dene Games organizers prior to the 1981 Games.

30. The objectives of the Dene Games Association include the preservation, promotion, documentation and continued practice and celebration of Dene cultural dances, songs, arts, crafts, games, legends and life skills and knowledge (Dene Games Association Constitution and Bylaws, 1981).

31. The Association applied for incorporation on April 15, 1981.

32. In 1970-71, the Inuvik Ski Team supporter club raised $11,000 locally, and $21,000 outside Inuvik. As well, non-monetary support was provided by the Inuvik Research Laboratory, Inuvik schools, Grollier Hall, Pacific Western Airlines, Great Northern Airways, and individuals (TEST, 1970-71 Annual Report).

33. The Baffin Region Inuit Association (BRIA) received NSRP funding in 1977 ($20,000), 1978 ($30,000) and 1979 ($10,000). The Keewatin Inuit Association (KIA) received funding in 1977 ($1,963), 1978 ($30,000) and 1979 ($20,000). These grants were used to fund recreation staff.

34. The GNWT received funding in 1978 ($40,000) and 1979 ($36,426).

35. The federal government retains direct responsibility for services to treaty Indian and Inuit people.

36. The Indian Association of the NWT claimed that native people did not, in fact, have equal access to recreation services, since they were controlled by the settlement Council, which did not always agree with the band Council (Westland, 1973).

37. This did not occur with all associations accepting NSRP grants in the NWT.

38. This occurred both in the Keewatin program, and in the Baffin program.

39. Community recreation programs sponsored by BRIA were mistaken by community members as being part of GNWT recreation services. Problems with the local programs led to complaints being directed at the Recreation Division, who up to that time were unaware that the programs existed.

40. Sport North is the federation which represents sport in the North. Its development and role will be further discussed under "delivery system".

41. The goal of the Canada Games is "to provide a national developmental competition of high calibre for a maximum number of athletes from all provinces and territories" (Canada Games Council, handbook of policies and organizational procedures, 1980). This event is viewed as an elite competitive opportunity by the GNWT, while the AWG is viewed as a developmental sport opportunity.

42. This agreement is revised on a regular basis. The most recent agreement was signed for the 1982-83 period.

43. The GNWT retains responsibility for intergovernmental relations, VIP's attending the Games and the cultural programs held in conjunction with the Games. All actions performed by Sport North for the GNWT must also have the mutual consent of the Recreation Division (Sport North Agreement, 4 May, 1982).

44. Two good examples of this are 5-pin bowling and squash. Yellowknife boasts the only bowling alley, and the only squash facility in the NWT.

45. Cross-country skiing, for example, is well suited to the western arctic, while snow and wind conditions inhibit the activity in the eastern arctic.

46. Coaching in the small communities was most often offered by people from southern Canada who had been involved in sport prior to coming north, such as teachers and RCMP officers. These people inevitably left the community after a few years to take a new job or posting.

47. The Recreation Division attempted to increase the per capita grant in 1982 by developing a sliding scale formula with
    $10 per capita to 1,000 people, plus
    $8 per capita for 1,001 - 3,000 people, plus
    $6 per capita for 3,001+ people

This proposal was rejected by the Executive Committee (Adams, December 1982).

48. Recreation Division clarified its support of block funding rather than special purpose grants in 1980, when they recommended that no program be created to fund community festivals such as Frobisher Bay's "Toonik Tyme". Frobisher Bay had previously requested GNWT support for their 1980 festival (Elkin to the Minister of Local Government re Policy on Recreation Grants to Community Festivals, 22 July, 1980).

49. This is a sound concept if the block funding is adequate to provide for community recreation needs. It has already been noted, however, that the per capita grant has never been increased beyond the $5.00 amount set in the early 1970's.

50. The new facilities policy will provide 1% of construction costs towards equipment for the facility.

51. Federal manpower grants were created to provide jobs rather than to build suitable facilities. Thus, there was no building criteria established with program guidelines. It was an easy way to get funds for facility construction while concomitantly providing needed jobs for the community. Unfortunately, projects sometimes ended up being only piecemeal solutions to a much greater problem -- the provision of an adequate albeit expensive facility.

52. Pools which have operated in the eastern arctic include Frobisher Bay, Rankin Inlet, Baker Lake and Repulse Bay.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZED RECREATION IN THE NWT COMMUNITIES: THREE CASE STUDIES

Three communities in the NWT were chosen as case studies to portray the nature of organized recreation in NWT communities. Information on their involvement in organized recreation was gleaned from municipal recreation files, Hamlet Council minutes, and conversation with community members. Although this material was often sketchy, patterns of organized recreation in the communities are obvious. After a brief background on each community, the specific patterns for organized recreation in each case study are detailed in reference to 1) the types of recreation activities, 2) the rationale for involvement in organized recreation, and 3) the delivery structure for organized recreation.

Community Sketches[1]

Ft. Franklin

Ft. Franklin is a Dene community located on the southwest shore of Great Bear Lake. The community formed around the Roman Catholic Mission, the Hudson Bay store (the Bay), and the federal day school about 1950. Close to 240 residents lived in Ft. Franklin by 1966. At that time, the community offered a four-room school and a nursing station, but no post office, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) post, telephones, television, airstrip or recreation facilities. Planes, which arrived on a bi-monthly basis, became even more infrequent during freeze-up and break-up, when they were unable to land on the lake. Dry goods were delivered by barge from the South each summer. The settlement

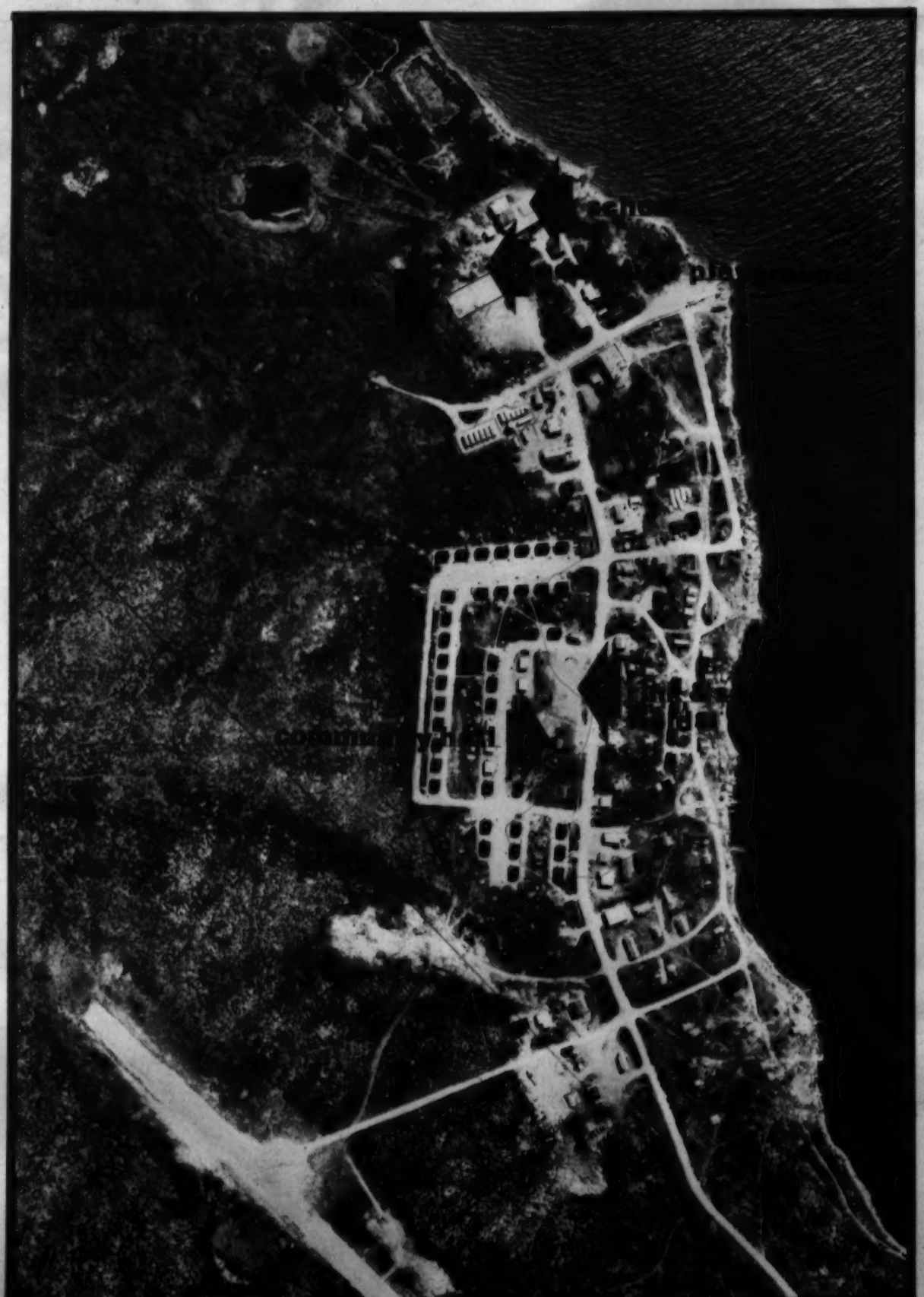


Plate 2: Aerial Photograph of Ft. Franklin noting Recreation Facilities

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was administered by the principal, who acted as the area administrator for DINA. Economic activities included primarily trapping, fishing and hunting.

Ft. Franklin is the most traditional of the three communities studied. The 1981 population of 518 people was approximately 94% Dene and 6% Others.[2] Television was installed for the first time in the summer of 1981. Traditional economic patterns of hunting, fishing and trapping still predominate. The 1976 income per capita of $1642 was 70% below the Canadian average, while the consumer prices ranged about 55% higher than comparable prices in Edmonton. Piped water and sewage is available in an area between the school and the nursing station, but most homes are still serviced by truck. A scheduled flight between Ft. Franklin and Norman Wells operates most days, and during the winter an ice road leads to Ft. Norman. Ft. Franklin remains, overall, a strong Dene community culturally with Slavey spoken as the first, and predominate language. The school, which goes to grade eight, uses Slavey as the language of instruction for primary grades. Community members' ongoing tie to the land was reflected in presentations made during the 1975 Berger Inquiry.

> Several adults and children pointed out that they rely on the land for food and recreation although they have jobs or go to school in town. . . . All witnesses wanted this type of life to continue (Berger, 1976:34).

Recreation facilities include a community hall, a school gymnasium, an outdoor rink, a softball field, and an "adventure playground" located next to the school.

Tuktoyaktuk

This Inuit community is located on a spit of land in Kugmallit Bay (part of the Beaufort Sea). It lies above the treeline, about 80

Plate 3: Aerial Photograph of Tuktoyaktuk noting Recreation Facilities

miles north of Inuvik. Inuit in this region were first exposed to Europeans when whalers worked in the area. Unfortunately, the whalers brought diseases with them, and in the period between 1890 and 1910 epidemics killed over half of the Inuit population in the region. As whaling decreased in importance, native people slowly migrated to Tuktoyaktuk's present site, which was chosen by a Hudson Bay Company survey in 1934 as the best harbour in the area. By 1937, the community boasted a Bay store, and both Anglican and Catholic missions. An Anglican mission school, built in 1947, was taken over by the federal government the following year, establishing the first government school in the area. The RCMP created a permanent post in the community in 1950.

The year 1955 ". . . heralded the beginning of a new way of life for many Eskimos. The construction of the DEW Line brought work all along the coast and Tuktoyaktuk grew as men came for jobs" (Carrothers, 1966). Unfortunately, two years later DEW Line construction was completed, leaving workers with wage-employment expectations but few jobs. The Northern Transportation Company (NTCL) set up a base close to Tuktoyaktuk to service the DEW Line site. This location served as the northern terminus for the Mackenzie barges, whose freight was then transferred onto vessels servicing the Arctic coast communities. The DEW Line, NTCL, and most recently Dome (through their oil and gas exploration projects) have irrevocably altered the economy of Tuktoyaktuk from its earlier hunting, fishing and trapping base. Still, in 1975 at the Berger Inquiry, Vince Steen (now mayor of Tuktoyaktuk) claimed that one-third of Tuktoyaktuk people lived off the land, one-third worked at wage employment in the summer and trapped in the winter, while the final one-third worked at permanent wage-employment jobs, but hunted seals, birds and caribou during their times off (Berger, 1976:19). Although wage

employment formed an integral part of the community economy, it was evident that families were still closely tied to the land.

A nursing station was built in 1956, followed by an area administration office the following year. By 1962, a fur garment shop was opened, as well as a store serving as a cafe, movie theatre and dance hall. A new seven-room school was built in 1965, at a time when the population, at 450, made Tuktoyaktuk the largest settlement on the Arctic coast. This population has grown to 780 in 1981, including approximately 86% Inuit, and 12% Others (the remaining 2% were Dene). The main languages spoken are English and Inuvialuktun. The school program, which goes to grade nine, was taught solely in English until the 1982/83 school term, when Inuvialuktun was introduced in the first three grades. Income per capita in 1976 was 45% below the Canadian average, while consumer prices remained about 55% higher than those of Edmonton. Basic water and sewage services are trucked in the community.

An airstrip, originally built for the DEW Line, presently allows for scheduled flights from Inuvik, as well as charters coming to the community. A winter road connects Tuktoyaktuk with Aklavik and Inuvik; otherwise, transportation is mainly by boat. CBC radio is transmitted from Inuvik, with some local broadcasting at specific periods of the day. Television is also available, although the 24-hour movie channel is only accessible to Dome. Recreation facilities include a small, log community hall built in 1962 using community labour. There is a gymnasium attached to the school, a recently completed unheated arena, playfields, and a condemned curling rink.

Inuvik

Inuvik is situated on the east channel of the Mackenzie River

Plate 4: Aerial Photograph of Inuvik noting Recreation Facilities

Delta 1200 miles north of Edmonton. This community, lying at the north edge of the treeline, was created by the federal government in 1954. At that time, problems of erosion and flooding in Aklavik led the government to relocate and enlarge the school, hospital, airport and administrative facilities at an alternate site. Construction of Inuvik was completed in 1961. The Prime Minister, the Honourable John Diefenbaker, came to open officially the community. The plaque he uncovered stated:

> This was the first community north of the Arctic Circle built to provide the normal facilities of a Canadian town. It was designed not only as a base for development and administration but as a centre to bring education, medical care and new opportunity to the people of the Western Arctic (Carrothers, 1966).

Thus, Inuvik was a government-planned community established to be ". . . the world's first truly modern arctic town. . . (representing) the successful adaptation of urban living to the unique demands of the north" (Ibid).

Several services for the Delta region are centered in Inuvik. Two schools, covering grades one to twelve, provide schooling for not only Town children, but also students from the outlying communities who stay in Grollier Hall, the Roman Catholic hostel. A hospital provides for the medical needs of the region. The RCMP and the Canadian Forces Station (CFS) both have large detachments in Inuvik.

The town airstrip services daily flights to Yellowknife and Edmonton, as well as several charter companies based in town. A gravel road has recently been completed to Dawson City, Yukon thus connecting Inuvik by road with southern Canada. This road also connects Ft. McPherson and Arctic Red River to the town. Ice roads link Inuvik to Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk in the winter. CBC has its regional radio station in town. There is a small selection of television channels, including a

broadcast originating in Inuvik. A weekly newspaper, the Drum, has been published locally since 1965.

Inuvik supplanted Aklavik as the trade centre for furs in the region. Wage labour is the predominant character of the economy. The town's economic mainstay is the GNWT, because its administrative services for the Inuvik region are situated in the community. Oil and gas exploration in the Beaufort Sea have led to the development of businesses in town necessary to service the resource companies. There have also been other private businesses developed. The economy is thus much more diversified than either of the other two communities being examined, although ties to a land-based economy are much weaker in Inuvik. In 1976, the per capita income was 11% above the Canadian average, while consumer prices were only about 35% higher than in Edmonton.

The 1981 population of 2490 people was comprised of 7% Dene, 4% Metis, 17% Inuit and 72% Others. It is clear from this breakdown that the majority of people are non-native, most likely originating from outside the NWT. Languages spoken include English, Inuvialuktun, Slavey and Loucheux. English is the only language (apart from French) presently taught in the schools, and is the first language for many people born in Inuvik. Basic water and sewage services are provided either through the utilidor system[3] or by trucks.

Recreation facilities include both public and organization-sponsored buildings. The Town owns the Dave Jones Community Centre, which includes a banquet hall, arena and curling rink. Ski trails, a tennis court, playgrounds and a waterfront area for swimming are also available. There are two public gymnasiums, one for each school. Ingamo Hall Friendship Centre (Ingamo Hall) has a large room which is used for

recreation programs. CFS has a gymnasium on its base. Grollier Hall has two gymnasiums, a natural ice arena and an above-ground pool, presently inoperative. There used to be a public above-ground pool and a movie theatre in town, although both are now closed. Family Hall, owned by the Catholic Church, and the Royal Canadian Legion (the Legion) hall both provide areas which are used for bingos, dances and meetings. Gymnasiums in Stringer Hall, the Anglican Church hostel, have been closed down for several years, because the building is considered unsafe for occupancy.

Types of Recreation Activities

Community recreation activities have been categorized below as either sports or traditional pursuits. "Sports" encompass those recreation activities which have originated from euro-Canadian society, while "traditional pursuits" have developed from either Dene or Inuit society.

Activities were further classified according to their underlying organizational structure. "Spontaneous recreation" included activities which occurred without any organized preplanning. An example of this might be a "pickup" ice hockey game held on the bay in Tuktoyaktuk. Once the element of "organizing" became necessary in order to provide a recreation opportunity for interested participants, the activity was classified as "organized recreation". Objectives for activities in this category did not extend beyond the time period of the activity. Ice time reserved in the Tuktoyaktuk arena for interested hockey players would fall within this category of activities. If, in addition to performing the activity, there was the intention of consciously developing skills and/or attending future competitions, then the activity was classed as "developmental recreation". League hockey played in the

Tuktoyaktuk arena would fall within this third category.

Spontaneous Recreation

Ft. Franklin: Spontaneous traditional activities, such as Indian ball, drum dancing and stick-gambling[4] occurred in this community. These activities occurred throughout the year, but were often tied to special events shared with other native people, such as the 1973 visit from Ft. Rae people, the community workshop sponsored by the Dene Nation in June 1980, annual religious celebrations at Christmas and Easter, and festive occasions such as weddings. Other spontaneous recreation activities were euro-Canadian in origin such as softball games, swimming and "pickup" hockey games.

Tuktoyaktuk: There were no indications of ongoing spontaneous traditional activities in the community. Spontaneous activities were euro-Canadian in origin, such as hockey played on the road or the bay, swimming, and softball.

Inuvik: There were no indications of spontaneous traditional activities in Inuvik. Bicycling, swimming and "pickup" softball games were evident in the summer of 1979. During the following winter, road hockey games and hill sliding were played by the children.

Organized Recreation

Ft. Franklin: Organized traditional recreation activities were non-existent in the community. The main opportunities for organized recreation occurred within the evening gymnasium program while school was in session. Participants who attended on any particular night determined what activity would take place. The community hall was used on a regular basis for bingos and movies. Occasional one-day

special events were also held, such as Winter Carnivals, held at the end of April, and Sports Days, held on July 1st. Little preparation was given to these events. Without the extensive preparations necessary in larger communities, and without the concerns often felt to "have an event come off", special events of this type occurred when the interest of individuals was sufficient to plan the event, as usually happened when fundraising was the prime motive.

Tuktoyaktuk: There was no evidence of organized traditional activities in Tuktoyaktuk. The main forum for organized recreation was the evening gym program, which ran throughout the school year. Activities played during this time were primarily indoor soccer, floor hockey, volleyball and wrestling. Bingos were held in the community hall most nights. Movies used to be shown on the weekend, but television has now shut down movie nights completely. The Beluga Jamboree in April, and the July 1st Sports Day were both special events which occurred on a regular basis. Activities played during these festivals were reminiscent of a southern Canadian church picnic or family reunion. Foot-races, 3-legged races and thread-the-needle contests were interspersed with skidoo races and toboggan pulls at the 1980 Beluga Jamboree. The main differences between the church picnic and this Jamboree were the hefty money prizes and extremely cold weather at the time of the festival in Tuktoyaktuk -- both of which were accepted as part of the experience. Two dances, one with a live band playing modern music, and the other with old-time fiddle music, were held in conjunction with the Jamboree. Such dances were also common at Christmas time. A summer playground program was sponsored by the Hamlet in 1977 using a government grant, while an Alcohol and Drug Committee grant also enabled children to go out

fishing and camping on the land.

Inuvik: There were no opportunities for organized traditional recreation activities in town. Specific times were reserved for free skating at the arena, and some churches provided unstructured free time in the gymnasiums. There were "free" gym times available for CFS members in their facility, and for the hostel children in the Grollier Hall gymnasiums. Bingos and dances were held frequently in the Dave Jones banquet hall, and regular bingos held at Family Hall and Ingamo Hall.

Developmental Recreation

Ft. Franklin: There were few developmental recreation opportunities in Ft. Franklin. Evening leagues for volleyball, basketball and floor hockey operated from 1975 to 1977 (Kodakin, January 1983). Cross-country skiing was an activity which enabled some students to train, and to attend competitions including the Top of the World ski meet in Inuvik. Teams from the school also participated in occasional regional sports competitions. There were no ongoing traditional developmental recreation activities in the community, although a 1976 New Horizons project brought people together for a week in Ft. Franklin to document traditional pastimes. Community members have also attended a number of Northern Games celebrations where they participated through drummming and stick-gambling.

Tuktoyaktuk: A government-funded drum dance project[5] in 1976 enabled some community members to teach drumming and dancing to others in the community who did not have these traditional skills. This project was evaluated highly by all participants at its conclusion. An application

to repeat the format using a 1980 Summer Youth Employment Grant (SYEP) was, however, rejected by the government. Community members regularly attend the Northern Games, and hosted the Games in 1975. A Northern Games leader was hired through the NGA in 1978 to instruct Tuktoyaktuk youth in traditional games.

Competitive recreation opportunities were available to school children through fairly regular regional sports tournaments. Athletic teams have not only attended the regional AWG trials, but have consistently competed at the Games in Arctic Sports. Tuktoyaktuk was also able to send both a boys' and a girls' indoor soccer team to the 1980 AWG. Cross-country skiers have occasionally attended Top of the World ski meets in Inuvjk.

Inuvik: Ongoing opportunities for traditional games practice sessions have been available through Ingamo Hall. The Delta Drummers and Dancers, an Inuit demonstration group, have been based in Inuvik and perform there on occasion. These opportunities have kept traditional activities viable in Inuvik.

Developmental sports activities abound in Inuvik. Gymnasiums are fully scheduled each year, restricting the use of these facilities for more spontaneous recreation activities.[6] The curling rink was available only for private members, although school children access the rink for classes, and bonspiels are sponsored by large groups in town. The arena ice was scheduled primarily for organized hockey and skating activities. Summer swim lessons have been provided at Boot Lake by the Town since 1979, and school lessons were held in the portable pool before it was closed in the early 1970's. Softball leagues for children, men and women operated all summer.

Sports teams in Inuvik were able to benefit from a variety of intercommunity competitive opportunities. Regional and territorial championships in a number of sports have been held in the community. Top of the World cross-country ski meets have drawn competitors for the past seventeen years. Northern Games have been held in Inuvik five times since 1970. Regional and territorial AWG trials have been held there, and several competitors from Inuvik have attended the Games, as well as the national Canada Games. Athletes who trained with the TEST program in Inuvik were able to attend numerous national and international cross-country ski meets including the Olympic Games.

Rationale for Involvement in Organized Recreation

The three communities being examined have different recreation patterns. The rationales underlying organized recreation patterns similarly vary between Ft. Franklin, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik.

Ft. Franklin

Several of the delegations which approached the Council voiced their concern that recreation must be provided to "keep the kids busy".[7] This was the only community which mentioned that culture must be taken into consideration when offering recreation activities. In 1978, Council warned the Young Adult Club to include bush life rather than just offer games, since games tended to lure children away from bush life (Council minutes, 18 July 1978).

Another request of delegations to Council was for sports equipment. On at least two occasions[8] Council did provide equipment for use in the community. The Hamlet[9] also owned equipment for general use, including baseball gloves, baseballs, volleyballs and nets, and

floor hockey sticks (Kodakin,[10] 19 June 1980).

Requests came to Council for travel dollars to allow school teams to attend regional competitions. Council, on at least two occasions, provided funding aid.[11] In 1979, a request for $500 was turned down by the Council, but the principal was given permission to hold two bingos in order to raise the funds needed for the sports tournament (Council minutes, 16 October 1979).

Recreation facilities were a popular topic of discussion for the Council. Community requests usually pertained to the construction of new facilities; however, the Council was always left with the costs of operating and maintaining recreation facilities as well. For example, Council was faced with the yearly operating and maintenance (O & M) costs of running the community hall. The other well-used facility, the school gymnasium, was owned and operated by the GNWT. In keeping with GNWT ownership of the gymnasium, all decisions on access to this facility, and use of school sports equipment ultimately rested with the principal of the school.

Interest in constructing a variety of other recreation facilities was often expressed in Council meetings. Facilities discussed and eventually constructed included an outdoor skating rink built in 1977 using a GNWT Outdoor Facilities Grant, and an adventure playground constructed next to the school in 1976 using a summer employment grant. Facilities which were discussed, but which never materialized included a roof for the outdoor skating rink, a curling rink, a new community hall, and a multi-purpose building housing a gymnasium, a pool hall and a cafe. Plans for the rink roof were submitted to the GNWT Recreation Division, but were returned as inadequate[12] (Hamlet files: letter,

20 November 1978). Logs were cut for the planned community hall in 1977 using a Short Term Employment Program (STEP) grant (Council minutes, 17 February 1977), but the plans for the hall did not advance beyond that point. The curling rink and multi-purpose building ideas did not develop beyond initial discussions.

In order to fund the O & M costs of the community hall,[13] as well as to raise money for organized recreation in general, Council had to gain access to government grants.[14] In addition, a number of recreation opportunities have been offered by Council in order to raise money. Bingos, movies, winter carnivals and sport days all have a revenue-generating role, as well as providing entertainment for community members.[15] This role became evident in the number of organizations apart from Council which also sponsored these activities in order to raise money for their own purposes. In 1978, the Band Council approached Hamlet Council for a loan so that they could organize and raise money through a Sports Day (Council minutes, 14 June 1978). This request followed a successful Winter Carnival organized by the Hamlet, where Council was able to use revenues to purchase one hundred chairs for the community hall. In 1980, the Bible Society was able to raise $2,000 through a Winter Carnival so that they could attend a convention (Council minutes, 13 February 1980). Different organizations offered bingos throughout the week, leading to the only recognizable coordination role of the Council for recreation -- that of setting dates for the various bingos being held, all of which occurred in the community hall (Council minutes, 2 August 1978). The other recorded method of fundraising was a rental charge levied by the Council on those organizations wishing to use the community hall for a fundraising activity.[16]

Tuktoyaktuk

In this community, which has been affected by Dome's nearby presence, organized recreation is looked upon as a service for binding the social fabric of the community together. Social upheaval caused by rapid development is an acknowledged reality in Tuktoyaktuk. Recreation, along with other societal institutions, was seen as a vehicle through which negative activity patterns such as excessive drinking and vandalism can be balanced,[17] not only by "keeping the kids busy" but also be providing opportunities where people can come together and share in positive experiences.

Requests to the Council for recreation equipment did not materialize as they had in Ft. Franklin. Some equipment necessary for fundraising activities[18] was owned by the Hamlet, but equipment needed to participate in recreation activities was obtained from the school, or personally owned.[19]

Council donations for intercommunity travel were sometimes made, although a loan rather than a donation was provided for a sports team interested in attending the 1980 AWG trials.[20] Council's willingness to fund travel costs was similar to the situation in Ft. Franklin.

Council was much more concerned about the need for recreation facilities. A log community hall was built in 1962. Fifty-five per cent of the costs of the building materials were covered by the International Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE), with the rest paid by the federal government. Community members volunteered their labour to construct the hall (Carrothers, 1966), which has been used as a day care centre over the past two years. The other basic

facility, the gymnasium, was built as part of the school in 1965.

The most controversial project has been the arena. Construction of the facility began in 1976. The $150,000 GNWT grant was matched by community funds collected from private donations and other government sources.[21] In keeping with the GNWT grant guidelines, volunteer labour was pledged as part of the community contribution. Work on the facility stopped when problems with untrained volunteer labour, compounded by poor project management, led to delays in the construction schedule, and a clear need for additional funding. Negotiations with the GNWT began again in 1978-79, and blueprints for the project were drawn up on at least three separate occasions by different architects in the GNWT Department of Public Works. Additional GNWT funding was eventually committed to the project, with construction management provided by Dome. Construction of the arena was completed in 1981, minus some of the features originally planned for the building.[22] A successful political lobby by the western arctic Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) has resulted in the commitment of additional GNWT funds in order to construct dressing rooms and a canteen in the arena.

A second recreation facility was affected by delays in arena construction. In 1976, Council applied to the GNWT for an above-ground swimming pool. Program requirements to obtain a pool included a location for the pool which 1) was preferably covered, and 2) had access to dressing rooms and showers. The pool was shipped to Tuktoyaktuk in 1977 with plans to house it in the completed arena. While arena construction problems persisted, the pool remained in town unassembled. Attempts began by the GNWT in 1981 to reclaim the pool and locate it

elsewhere. Finally, in spring 1982, the pool parts were collected, transported and assembled in Ft. McPherson.

The curling rink in town is to be demolished shortly. At one time curling was a very popular community sport. Each winter the RCMP officer, who was the driving force behind the curling movement, flooded and prepared the ice surface using water donated by Dome. When this RCMP officer was transferred, facility usage decreased, and interest dwindled in curling (Felix, April 1980). The land under the rink has been eroding to the point where it is no longer a structurally sound facility, and damages to the building have rendered it unsalvageable.

Dome has played a minor role in the provision of community recreation facilities. The company has built a recreation complex for Dome employees which has limited access for Tuktoyaktuk residents. Dome has also made financial contributions to the Council for facility construction projects, in keeping with the socioeconomic agreement between Dome and the federal government.[23] In communities where resource development is undertaken, any increase in community services required as a result of that development is supposed to be provided at no cost to the community.[24] The GNWT has identified Tuktoyaktuk as an "impact"[25] community, and plans are underway to upgrade the recreation facilities[26] in order to help the community cope with the effects of resource development.

Although Council is faced with the O & M costs of community recreation facilities, only one GNWT utilities grant was obtained. The small amount available through this grant ($1290 in 1977) for the extensive submission material required[27] often negated the use of this

grant by communities. Fundraising was seen as an easier way to cover the costs of operating facilities.

In order to pay for recreation costs in the community, some government grants were obtained by the Council.[28] In addition, fundraising became a responsibility of the Hamlet. Financial contributions provided by Dome to the Hamlet have already been mentioned.[29] Bingos, movies, special events and dances were also held to raise funds.

Bingos were by far the greatest source of revenue. The 1979 Hamlet audit showed that bingos contributed more than all other sources of revenue together. Hamlet bingos were held weekly. Regular bingos were also offered by the Hunters' and Trappers' Association, the Fur Shop, the Native Women's Association and the School (Dillon, April 1980). The frequency of bingos attests to its popularity both as a recreational activity, and as a method of fundraising.

Other methods of generating revenue also provided entertainment for community members. Movies were shown on a regular basis in the community hall until television supplanted their popularity. Dances were held, often with live bands imported from Inuvik. Special events, such as the Beluga Jamboree[30] in April, and the July 1st Sports Day were held on a regular basis. Finally, nevada tickets[31] were sometimes sold to raise funds, while organizations were charged a rental fee when using the community hall for profit bingos or dances.

Inuvik

The system for organized recreation in Inuvik was more complex than either Ft. Franklin or Tuktoyaktuk. Along with the recreation committee, there were a large number of sport associations providing recreation opportunities. Different organizations including

CFS, Ingamo Hall Friendship Centre, and the Roman Catholic Hostel (Grollier Hall) offered well-developed programs for a select clientele. Service groups also contributed towards recreation in Inuvik. In light of the many groups involved in organized recreation, and the limited number of facilities available, the Recreation Board was sometimes required to serve as a forum for competing sport interests. Although associations in town provided most of the recreation opportunities, the Town was expected to maintain public facilities, access grants, run summer programs, and coordinate special events.

The Recreation Board did not involve itself in the direct provision of equipment. Different service organizations in Inuvik donated playground equipment, although this led to problems concerning the maintenance of that equipment.[32] For the most part, both equipment and travel costs were covered by the sport associations. Each organization had to fundraise in order to provide the dollars needed to complete its yearly program.

Facility issues seemed to dominate Recreation Board meetings. Inuvik was fortunate because not only the Town, but also the Hostel, Ingamo Hall and the CFS all owned recreation facilities which were used extensively. Most of the time, however, the facilities were restricted to those clients for whom the facility was built.

Grollier Hall is a Roman Catholic residence for school children from the outlying communities. Father Ruyant must be credited with the diversity of recreation facilities available. Although two gymnasiums were provided as part of the original hostel building, Father has since constructed a pool and an arena for the hostel children. A ski shack and a softball diamond were also accessible to Grollier students. The

gymnasiums and pool were inaccessible to others in the community, while the natural ice arena was used by some town teams for hockey practice (Fr. Ruyant, 3 April 1980), and for the Town broomball league.

The CFS has a gymnasium facility[33] available for their personnel. The facility was programmed by a Recreation Officer, who also obtained time for CFS staff in Town curling and skating facilities. The CFS gymnasium was rarely used by townspeople. Any "civvies" attending recreation programs first had to be cleared by CFS staff (Sgt. Pattison, 3 April 1980).

Ingamo Hall is a friendship centre[34] located in the west end of Inuvik. Friendship centres have been established to meet the adjustment needs of migrating native people. Recreation programs are usually an integral part of this process. A new Ingamo Hall, constructed entirely of logs, was completed in 1979. This building has a large room used extensively for recreation. Although participants tend to come from the "west end", which is primarily native, programs are open to all citizens of Inuvik.

Apart from the above-mentioned facilities, there are other recreation facilities constructed by the Town. The largest building, and the one which occupied the greatest portion of the Town recreation budget, was the Dave Jones Community Centre. A building fund was started for this facility in the 1960's, with contributions provided by several sources.[35] The completed complex included a banquet hall, a skating arena and a curling rink. In 1978, the Town obtained a GNWT grant[36] to install an artificial ice plant in the arena/curling rink portion of the building. The operation of this ice plant has been so expensive that it was subsequently not used in 1981/82.

Unlike Ft. Franklin and Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvik did not have a Town-owned community hall. The banquet hall in the community centre was used for dances and bingos. Other hall facilities were owned by the Roman Catholic Church (Family Hall), the Legion, and the Ingamo Hall Association. These facilities together provided for the functions normally carried out in the halls of smaller communities. Gymnasiums were available through Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS) and Samuel Hearne Secondary School (SHSS).

A portable pool was opened in 1968 in Inuvik. Both the school and the community made use of the facility, which was located in the old curling rink. The pool eventually had to be closed because of expensive repairs and unsanitary conditions. Members of the community have used Boot Lake for swimming since then, although a core of women continue to raise funds and to lobby for an above-ground pool.[37]

The Town obtained GNWT facility grants to construct two other facilities. A tennis court was built in front of SHSS in 1969. Just recently a fence was placed around the court area, after a lengthy debate on whether maintenance of the facility was the responsibility of Town (who had built the facility) or the school (on whose property the court was built). The Town eventually built the fence. Ski trails have also been maintained in town. In 1977, a GNWT grant enabled the lighting system of the trails to be upgraded, and a ski lodge to be built. These trails were used extensively by town members, and school and hostel groups and classes.

Playgrounds continued to be an issue of debate for the Recreation Board. Service clubs and organizations have donated time and energy to building playgrounds[38] but have not provided any help main-

taining the completed facilities. The Town has also constructed and maintained playgrounds using GNWT grants. The major discussions on playgrounds have centred around adopting a more complete, planned approach to parks and playground development in Inuvik. The Recreation Board sponsored two studies on this issue, in 1977 and 1979, but only limited, piecemeal action was taken on the recommendations.

Along with playgrounds, the Recreation Board has spent considerable time discussing the development of an athletic field, including a softball diamond, track and soccer pitch beside the high school. Presently, the softball diamond behind the elementary school is the only diamond used extensively for league games all summer. Discussions have been held on the proposed development of the athletic field both within Recreation Board meetings, and with GNWT staff. Nevertheless, the project has not yet materialized.

Each of the facilities mentioned thus far which was not owned by the Town was maintained by the sponsoring organization. Some Town-owned facilities, such as the curling rink, were leased to a sport association. The Town accepted O & M responsibilities for the Dave Jones banquet hall and arena. The costs of running this facility were so high that even with annual GNWT utilities grants and per capita grants to help offset expenses, the Town was faced with considerable expenses to operate the building. A letter was sent from the Town to Yellowknife in 1977 highlighting the inadequate funding offered by the new GNWT utilities assistance grant.[39] According to the secretary-manager of Inuvik, the maximum established for electricity under the grant was so low that the June bill for the Inuvik community centre (an inactive month for the building) still surpassed the yearly

allotment provided through the grant. The Council has continued to offset building costs using municipal tax dollars -- an option unavailable to both Tuktoyaktuk and Ft. Franklin. Thus, local taxation rather than fundraising was the method used to finance O & M costs of most Inuvik facilities.

Sport associations in town were faced with the responsibility for fundraising. Bingos and dances were popular methods of raising money. In 1979, for example, 32 dances and 64 bingos were held in the banquet hall of the community complex. Other bingos were held in Family Hall and Ingamo Hall. Sport associations were able to raise funds through these endeavours; as well, the Town was able to benefit through the collection of rental fees for the use of the banquet hall.

User fees were also charged for other facilities. In the arena, fees were charged to associations for ice rental, and to the public for free skating. Supervision during free skating was usually done by various associations, which then were allowed to keep any revenue generated. In the curling rink, club memberships were required to use the facility. Thus, non-members were excluded from any curling opportunities. Fees were also charged for use of the portable pool when it was in operation.

Both the Town and sports associations have proven themselves adept at obtaining federal and territorial grants,[40] as well as donations from private sources.[41] They have also been able to use lottery tickets as a form of fundraising. Only a few communities in the NWT were able to act as Western Canada lottery agents for Sport North. This opportunity in Inuvik has provided an ongoing source of revenue for non-profit sport and cultural associations. Fundraising in Inuvik was an accepted role of sport associations -- a role which was effectively met.

Delivery Structure for Organized Recreation

The GNWT has encouraged community Councils to formally adopt responsibility for recreation, and to create some form of recreation committee in order to carry out this function. The delivery structure for organized recreation which has formed as a result in each community is outlined, followed by the methods used in administering recreation funds, in programming for recreation, and in offering skill-specific instruction in each community.

Ft. Franklin

Prior to 1972, a community club existed which looked after recreation functions in the community hall. On April 1st, 1972, the settlement of Ft. Franklin took on hamlet status. At that time, provision of recreation activities was adopted as a responsibility of Hamlet Council (Hamlet files: letter, 15 March 1972). Beyond this initial recognition, there has been no consistent approach to providing for such activities by Council. At times, Council made mention of an internal recreation committee, while on other occasions they endorsed the initiatives of other groups interested in providing recreation services.

Issues which kept the Council involved in recreation were detailed in the previous section. Council was the main channel through which recreation grants could be obtained from the GNWT. Thus, funding needed for facilities and equipment was obtained primarily by the Council, although the Band Council also submitted grant applications on occasion. In addition, responsibility for operating and maintaining community recreation facilities ended up as the responsibility of Council. In order to provide for these costs, as well as other recrea-

tion requests, Council sponsored occasional "fundraising" special events, as well as weekly bingos and movies. Administration of recreation funds, which included fundraising and obtaining government grants, was thus the major recreation responsibility undertaken by Council.

Complaints from community members revolved around the need for organized recreation programs. Provision of programming leadership was only evident in the summertime, when paid staff provided an organized recreation program. In the early 1970's, for example, the GNWT Recreation Division provided community recreation leaders. In 1973, they arranged for a student from the University of Alberta to work as a summer recreation leader (Hamlet files: letter, 18 May 1973). This student's program, consisting primarily of euro-Canadian activities in the gymnasium, appeared to have been received favourably. All other recreation leaders were hired from among community members. Funds provided by Council, by the Native Women's Association (Council minutes, 1 May 1979) and by federal STEP grants have all supported salaries for recreation workers. Positions were always part-time, and restricted to the summer months. No skill specific leadership activities, such as NCCP courses, were ever carried out in Ft. Franklin.

Formation of a Youth Association in 1978 (Council minutes, 17 July 1978) and a community recreation committee in 1982, as well as continuing complaints about the lack of organized recreation for children, all pointed to the perceived need by community members for organized recreation opportunities in addition to those offered by the Hamlet. It also indicated that the Council was not automatically accepted as the community body responsible for providing organized recreation. At the 1982 formation meeting of the recreation committee, members expressed

a desire to remain autonomous from Council, to avoid the political and administrative problems inherent in that structure (Cleary, May 1982). Thus, although Council has maintained an administrative role in recreation matters over the past decade, it has not established itself as the "legitimate" provider of recreation opportunities in the eyes of other community members.

Financial accountability for recreation was identified as a problem in the 1978 Hamlet audit report. Council subsequently recommended that recreation services be turned over to an individual and run like a business (Council minutes, 10 September 1977). Although this was not done, a separate ledger was set up specifically to establish an accounting of the costs and revenues generated through the community hall. Council apparently saw recreation as a service which should pay for itself, rather than a service which should be subsidized by Council.

Tuktoyaktuk

A Community Association was formed through the initiative of Father LeMeur in the 1960's (Fr. LeMeur, April 1980) in order to provide for community recreation. In January 1977, organized recreation became an acknowledged concern of Council, when a recreation committee was formed with two council members, two council appointees, and two committee appointees. Two months later, the committee was restructured as part of a bylaw created to regulate Council procedures. The resultant three member committee of council was mandated to report on recreation issues and recommend necessary actions to the Council (Tuktoyaktuk Council bylaw #21).

The recreation committee has never assumed a very viable role in either administering or programming for community recreation. This

responsibility has instead fallen to the recreation director, although school teachers and other community members have been actively involved in organized recreation through supervision of the evening sports program. In Tuktoyaktuk, there was a summer recreation leader provided by the GNWT in 1973, followed by a series of community-funded recreation directors since 1975.[42] In addition to applying for grants, this employee took charge of fundraising for recreation, and organized some recreation programs.[43] Although no terms of reference were ever created for this position, it was evident that the role included both administrative and programming responsibilities. The director attended all recreation committee meetings, thereby providing a link between committee members and programming leaders (Dillon, April 1980). Council's support for a recreation director's position funded by the hamlet indicated that recreation was accepted as a responsibility of the Hamlet. In contrast to general programming leadership, however, there has been very little activity-specific leadership available. The only skill leadership project was organized by the NGA which in 1978-79 sponsored traditional games instructors in a number of communities including Tuktoyaktuk.

The 1978 Hamlet financial audit showed that the majority of recreation revenues stemmed from Hamlet bingos, with other funding coming from GNWT grants, movies, the Beluga Jamboree, dances, the Christmas canteen, and the community hall rental (Hamlet 15-month Audit to March 31, 1978). No problems in accountability for recreation were noted in the audit. The past two years, however, the recreation committee has had problems with overspending and accountability.

Inuvik

A primarily non-native Community Association was active in Inuvik in the early 1960's, ensuring that annual festivals such as the Muskrat Jamboree and Dominion Day were organized (Honigmann, 1967:95). On November 21, 1967, a bylaw was passed by the municipal Council to form a six-member recreation board appointed by Council. Bylaw changes were made to the membership of the recreation board on at least three subsequent occasions.[44] The final change, in July 1980, established a board of seven members, with one member appointed from Council. The mandate of this board was to ensure a balanced and varied recreation program for the town.

The Recreation Board adopted a coordinating role, rather than serving as a direct provider of recreation services. The latter role was the responsibility of sport associations in town.[45] Responsibility for provision of equipment and competition travel costs remained at the asssociation level.

The need for associations to fundraise resulted in involvement by most organizations in hosting bingos and dances. Once again, this role was not a Recreation Board responsibility, but rather an association duty. All these roles -- provision of equipment, aid with travel costs, and fundraising -- were roles assumed by individual sport associations, as contrasted with the Council in Ft. Franklin, or the Council/recreation director in Tuktoyaktuk.

Town recreation staff were an integral part of Inuvik's delivery system for recreation. The Town hired a series of recreation directors during the early 1970's. Unclear role responsibilities for this position led to the creation of specific terms-of-reference in 1974. The employee hired for this role resigned in

1976. In a letter to Council, he recommended that no replacement be hired for his position. In his opinion, the Recreation Board needed to become more active, and take on more of the responsibilities which he currently performed. He also suggested that people in town needed to become more involved in offering recreation opportunities, rather than just relying on a recreation director (Town files: letter, 20 May 1976).

Following his advice, the Council hired a part-time secretary to the Recreation Board rather than a recreation director. The newly-created position included administrative responsibilities for recreation in the Town, and secretarial responsibilities at Recreation Board meetings. As well, this employee served as the public contact for Town recreation matters.

This position has evolved to include not only applying for grants and attending Recreation Board meetings, but also working with committees established to plan special events in Inuvik such as the Terry Fox Run, Delta Daze and the Muskrat Jamboree. A summer co-ordinator, hired by the Town each year, handled most of the summer programming responsibilities, such as the playground program, the waterfront program and special events including Canada Day, bike rallies and clean-ups. The summer coordinator and the secretary to the Recreation Board[46] together provided the administrative and programming leadership required for various Town recreation opportunities. A full-time Town employee also managed the arena complex. The creation of this full-time position highlighted the large amount of time required to keep the arena functioning.

Several skill development leadership opportunities have been

available in Inuvik. The NCCP theory course has been offered on a few occasions, using course leaders from Inuvik. Officiating clinics have also been offered, a necessity considering the more highly technical nature of sport in town. Specific skill courses have been offered in sports such as skiing. Finally, northern games instruction has been made available through NGA projects. Inuvik, of the three communities studied, was the only town which provided opportunities for skill-specific sport leadership development.

Problems of financial accountability for sport associations were never mentioned in Recreation Board meetings. No mention was made of such a problem for the Town in recreation either, perhaps because their activities were administered through the Town office, using procedures adopted for other aspects of municipal administration.

Summary

When the nature of organized recreation is reviewed for all three communities some interesting patterns appear. All three Councils have adopted responsibility for providing recreation services. Each community has, or has considered, the construction of similar types of facilities. All have hired recreation staff at some time, and have been involved with similar forms of fundraising. Despite these similarities, and some comparable recreation patterns, it is evident that the degree of structure underlying organized recreation increased from Ft. Franklin to Tuktoyaktuk to Inuvik. This affected the nature of the individual systems, and the recreation services which resulted.

Types of Recreation Activities

Differences in recreation patterns can be discerned between

the communities. Ft. Franklin was the only community with signs of spontaneous traditional recreation activities. These were evident throughout the year, but were often tied to special events with other native people, such as the 1973 visit by families from Ft. Rae, or religious holidays such as Christmas and Easter. Old time dances still occurred infrequently in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik, but the majority of traditional activities, when they occurred, were government-funded projects established to preserve native culture by teaching traditional activities.

Inuvik had a highly differentiated system of sport associations. These associations offered a variety of opportunities for recreation, but were often restricted solely to members. Along with the sport associations, there were other groups in town, such as the CFS, the Hostel, Ingamo Hall and the Town which provided recreation opportunities. This stands in marked contrast with Ft. Franklin, where there were no ongoing sport associations, and no other groups in town which offered recreation opportunities. As would be expected, the majority of their recreation was unorganized in nature. Tuktoyaktuk fell in between these two extremes, with a few sport associations linked to the school in the community, and occasional opportunities for recreation provided by Dome. In Tuktoyaktuk, as in the other two communities, the evening school gym program provided the main opportunities for recreation during the winter months. The difference was that in the two smaller communities it was the major if not sole opportunity available, while Inuvik residents had access to a greater range of options.

Involvement in activities outside the community varied drastically. Inuvik athletes have been well represented, comparatively,

at most sport championships in the NWT, including AWG, NWT sport championships, the Top of the World ski meet, and the Canada Games. They have hosted regional and territorial trials for the AWG, and have held NWT championships. Northern Games, which originated in Inuvik, have been held there several times, with its administrative base in the town.

Tuktoyaktuk has less recreation opportunities than Inuvik. Although no major championships have been held in the community, they have sponsored regional tournaments. AWG athletes, especially in arctic sports and indoor soccer, have originated from Tuktoyaktuk. Skiers have attended the Top of the World meet. Northern Games have been held in Tuktoyaktuk, and several of its best athletes continue to come from the community.

Ft. Franklin has the least recreation opportunities of the three communities. Skiing has accounted for most of the inter-community sport travel, through participation in TEST and the Top of the World meet. Travel for regional sports competitions, although infrequent, has also occurred. The few athletes from Ft. Franklin who were chosen for AWG were attending school outside the community at the time. Occasional participation has occurred at the Northern Games. To date, community members have not attended Dene Games. The unstructured nature of most community recreation likely contributes to the low involvement in inter-community exchanges.

Rationale for Involvement in Organized Recreation

It was evident in each community that recreation was perceived in part as a diversionary activity necessary to "keep the kids busy". Differences arose over the additional expectations accorded to recrea-

tion. In Ft. Franklin the Council warned a Young Adult Club to offer opportunities "out in the bush", since games tended to lure children away from bush life. The social worker in Tuktoyaktuk made a similar plea for more "organized recreation" out on the land (Beattie, 22 April 1980). In Inuvik, programs were kept within town limits, although Ingamo Hall and the Town co-sponsored weekly trips which sometimes included picnics out of town. There was a decline in concern over recreation being tied "to the bush" as the community recreation programs became more highly structured. Only in the smaller communities was concern expressed that activities complement rather than compete with traditional practices.

In Tuktoyaktuk recreation was also seen as a vehicle for binding the social fabric of the community together. Social upheaval caused by rapid resource development remains an acknowledged reality in Tuktoyaktuk. In contrast, Ft. Franklin has not been forced to deal with large numbers of transients, while Inuvik, with its large government population, has maintained a fairly clear demarcation between white and native social circles. Recreation in Tuktoyaktuk was held out as one possible vehicle which could balance off the negative activity patterns which occur when rapid development takes place, and the presence of Southerners cannot be ignored.

The Council in Inuvik perceived recreation as a municipal service which should be made available by the Town. They, of the three communities, had the most highly developed system for recreation. Their involvement was one of practical necessity. With the proliferation of sport associations, and the comparatively high population, they were forced to provide a coordinating role in the use of recreation facilities.

Thus, each community had its own reasons for requiring organized recreation, which stemmed from the particular situation and associated problems of their community.

Equipment owned by the school was available to some degree in each community. Skiing was the best example of this, with skis being used by the school during the day and available to community members after school. There was, however, a much greater dependence on school-owned equipment in the smaller communities. The Hamlet office in Ft. Franklin not only provided funding for equipment, but also owned balls, bats and volleyballs which were used by the community. Tuktoyaktuk Council did not provide sports equipment, although it did own bingo cards and a movie projector. Inuvik sat at the other end of the spectrum. The Recreation Board did not deal with equipment issues. Equipment was provided by the sport associations, by the hostel, or owned privately.

Council provision of funding for intercommunity travel to competitions occurred in the two smaller communities. Inuvik's Recreation Board, on the other hand, did not deal with this issue. Inter-community travel costs were the responsibility of the organization. Fundraising, by necessity, became a key role of active sport associations.

Facilities remained a major issue for discussion in all communities. Each community had, or had discussed construction of facilities for skating, curling, softball and swimming, along with their basic gymnasium and community hall. Facilities which did exist were often inadequate in size or condition. All communities had used government grants for construction and operation of facilities, and

continued to dedicate the largest portion of the recreation budget to the operation of their facilities. Inuvik was able to meet such costs with municipal tax dollars; however, the other two communities, of necessity, turned to fundraising in order to keep their facilities operating.

There was a class of recreation activities whose role was Fundraising as well as entertainment. These activities included "special" sports days, bingos, dances and movies, which were evident in all communities. Some fell under the auspices of the recreation committee, but the majority were sponsored by separate organizations attempting to raise money for their own needs. Grants from private companies such as Dome and Esso were donated to the municipalities on occasion, or to specific sport associations. Finally, lotteries, nevada tickets and raffles were used to varying extents to raise funds for recreation.

Delivery Structure for Organized Recreation

Although each Council has accepted responsibility for recreation, their means for accomplishing that end have greatly varied. Ft. Franklin's approach has been the most varied, and least easy to discern. The Tuktoyaktuk Council has mandated responsibility to a committee of council, while Inuvik has maintained a recreation committee apart from, but answerable to Council. This difference in structure has not necessarily been reflected in the services offered; in each case, the communities have had times of greater and lesser effectiveness, due not to the structure in place, but rather to the people who were involved at the time, and their commitment to recreation.

All communities attended GNWT regional recreation workshops,

which were geared to the provision of administrative leadership. Very few training opportunities, however, were provided for programming leadership. Despite this, all communities have used federal, and at times GNWT grants, to fund primarily summer recreation leaders. As well, Tuktoyaktuk had a series of recreation directors. Inuvik had recreation directors from 1971 to 1976. The Council decided at that point against further full-time recreation directors, although they continued to employ an arena manager, a part-time recreation coordinator, a summer coordinator and summer playground leaders and lifeguards. Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik have also had leaders available to teach traditional games, provided through NGA projects funded by the federal and territorial governments. Inuvik was the only community which had opportunities for skill-specific leadership development through NCCP clinics, and some sport skills and officiating clinics.

Financial accountability for recreation was a problem highlighted in Ft. Franklin's 1978 Hamlet audit, and over the past two years in Tuktoyaktuk. No concerns over financial accountability were uncovered in Inuvik.

ANALYSIS SUMMARY - CHAPTER IV

A) Type of Activity Occurring in the Community

COMMUNITY	TYPE OF ACTIVITY					
	SPORT			TRADITIONAL ACTIVITY		
	SPON-TANEOUS	ORGANIZED	DEVELOP-MENTAL	SPON-TANEOUS	ORGANIZED	DEVELOP-MENTAL
Ft. Franklin	X	X	few	X		
Tuktoyaktuk	X	X	X			X
Inuvik	X	X	extensive			X

B) Community Rationale for Involvement in Organized Recreation

Rationale	COMMUNITY		
	FT. FRANKLIN	TUKTOYAKTUK	INUVIK
1. Diversionary activity (eg keeping the kids busy)	X	X	X
2. Provide infrastructure for recreation			
a) equipment	-Council -personal	personal	-sport clubs -service groups -personal
b) travel funds	Council	Council	sport clubs
c) construction of facilities	Council	Council	Council
d) operation of facilities	Hamlet	Hamlet	Town
e) recreation programs	whoever	rec director	-sport clubs -rec coordinator
f) fund raise for above	whoever	rec director	sport clubs
g) coordination of recreation services			recreation board
3. Municipal responsibility			x

C) Delivery Structure

	FT. FRANKLIN	TUKTOYAKTUK	INUVIK
1. structure of recreation committee	varied	sub-committee of council	recreation board
2. administrative leadership	hamlet manager	recreation director	recreation co-ordinator
3. programming leadership	summer leaders	recreation director	-sport clubs -recreation co-ordinator
4. skill-specific leadership	none	none, except for a Northern Games leader in 1978/79	-NWT sport associations -Northern Games leaders

NOTES

1. Information for the community sketches have been drawn from a select group of references, including 1) the 1966 Carrothers' Report on NWT Communities, 2) the 1975 Community Hearings during the Berger Inquiry, and 3) the 1981 NWT Data Book edited by Marina Devine. The 1981 population figures were obtained from the GNWT Community Data listing, published by the Department of Local Government on June 1, 1981. Arctic Townsmen, written in 1970 by Honigmann and Honigmann was also used as background for the Inuvik community sketch. Material presented in the community sketches and throughout the chapter has been checked as well by a contact in each community.

2. "Others" is a category often used in the NWT to encompass people who are non-native. Other common terms for non-natives include "whites" and "euro-Canadians" (terms meant to encompass other racial groups such as Asians and Negros as well).

3. The utilidor system involves placing water and sewage pipes inside a protective box mounted on trestles.

4. Indian Ball is a keep-away game using a mooseskin ball stuffed with moss. Men and women form opposing sides in the game. The best explanation of stick-gambling is in The Dogrib Hand Game, by June Helm and Nancy Oestreich Lurie.

5. Funding for the 6-month drum dance project was provided by the Hamlet ($630), the GNWT ($630) and the Ingamo Hall Friendship Centre in Inuvik ($720).

6. The Alcohol and Drug Organization in town complained that the tightly scheduled gyms had restricted them from offering a needed recreation opportunity for their clients. The process of booking gym times is completed in September, and does not allow for others to access the gym should they decide to later in the season (Organization employee, April 1980).

7. Instances of this can be found throughout the Council minutes. In 1979, for example, complaints were voiced both by the RCMP and the secretary-manager that high youth vandalism was caused by a lack of organized recreation for children (Council minutes, 1 May 1979 and 16 May 1979).

8. In April 1973, six pairs of cross-country skis were purchased using money from the GNWT recreation grant (Council minutes, 11 April 1973). In 1977, Council provided $250 for sports equipment (Council minutes, 2 May 1977).

9. "Hamlet" is a political status accorded to certain communities in the NWT. Both Ft. Franklin and Tuktoyaktuk are hamlets, while Inuvik has Town status.

10. While in each community, several conversations were held with various community members. A list of many of these people is included in the bibliography.

11. In 1973, and again in 1977 funding was provided so that school members could attend competitions outside the community (Council minutes, 11 April 1973).

12. The major GNWT complaint was that the roof plans were not structurally sound. The Hamlet was instructed to produce "adequate" plans before resubmitting their application.

13. In 1975, an oil stove was purchased for the community hall, in part so that more extensive winter recreation activities could be held (Hamlet files: letter, 1 October 1971 and Council minutes, 30 September 1975). In 1978, one hundred chairs were purchased for the hall (Council minutes, 26 April 1978). Renovations were carried out on the hall in 1981, with costs partially defrayed by the GNWT Recreation Division. Annual operating costs were relieved in small part by occasional GNWT grants - for example $270 in 1972, and $1835 in 1973.

14. See Appendix A for summaries of government grants obtained by communities.

15. In 1979, Council decided it would deduct $100 a week from their Friday bingos over the two summer months, for use in the recreation program (Council minutes, 28 June 1979). In 1980, revenue gained from bingos and movies was used to employ the community hall caretaker, who cleans the hall after bingos and movies (Kodakin, June 1980).

16. Council minutes on May 10, 1978, noted that a $20 charge would be placed on organizations wishing to use the community hall to raise funds by showing a movie.

17. In an interview on April 22, 1980, the social worker stressed the need to develop more "organized recreation" out on the land, for those children in the summer who would not be out on the land with their family because their parents were wage-earners in town.

18. A projector, needed to show movies in the community hall, was purchased by the community in 1966. Bingo cards were owned by the Hamlet (Dillon, April 1980). Both these equipment items are needed by the Hamlet in order to carry out their fundraising activities.

19. The school principal mentioned that school equipment, in particular cross-country skis, were available to community members for use after school (Menton, April 1980).

20. In June 1977 the proceeds from two bingos were committed to the NGA, whose major expenses are the travel costs of each community attending the Games. In 1980, $500 was provided by Council towards a

school team's travel costs to attend a regional floor hockey tournament. Also that year, Council agreed to loan athletes $1500 so that they could attend the AWG regional trials (teams attending these trials must pay their own travel costs).

21. The community contribution was made up of private contributions, a donation from Dome, Canada Works Grants (1977, 1978) and a STEP Grant (1977).

22. The arena is an unheated shell 173' x 75' with natural ice and no dressing rooms or canteen.

23. In 1977, Dome was required to sign a socioeconomic agreement with the federal government, which in part stated that the company would provide funding towards local recreation facilities, and support recreational and cultural development in the community.

24. Costs to renovate old recreation facilities or construct new facilities are to be split between the resource development company, the federal government and the GNWT.

25. "Impact communities" is a common GNWT phrase denoting those municipalities directly affected by the nearby presence of a development project.

26. Plans for facility construction include arena additions (a canteen and dressing rooms) and construction of a new, larger community hall.

27. A community had to keep track of fuel and electricity bills up to 5,000 gallons of fuel and 10,000 KWH of electricity. These bills were then submitted with the application form to the GNWT Recreation Division, which reimbursed the community for 40% of their utilities costs. In 1981, a community would have been eligible for about $3,000.

28. See Appendix A for summaries of government grants obtained by communities.

29. Donations from Dome went to the NGA, to athletic teams in Tuktoyaktuk, and to the Hamlet for playground equipment and arena construction.

30. The Beluga Jamboree was not always a successful fundraising event. In 1977, this festival lost $1,800. Much of the money raised went back to the participants in the form of cash prizes and/or trophies.

31. Nevada tickets are a guaranteed method of fundraising. The tickets are purchased at a set cost, and the money paid out for winning tickets is only a portion of the money raised in selling the tickets.

32. The Lion's Club provided $2,400 worth of playground equipment for the play area by Sir Alexander Mackenzie School. As of March 1980, no group had accepted responsibility for maintaining that equipment. This matter was discussed during a Recreation Board meeting, because

the equipment was in need of repair.

33. The CFS gymnasium is owned and operated by the federal Department of National Defence.

34. Friendship centres are primarily funded by the federal Secretary of State.

35. Contributions for the community centre building fund included a 1966 GNWT facility grant, and a 1970 GNWT grant for $75,000. Funds were also donated by various volunteer organizations such as the Muskrat Jamboree committee, which in 1970 donated $5,500 revenue from the event to the Town. CFS provided conscripted labour to build the centre.

36. This grant request was made by the Town on behalf of the Inuvik Curling Club.

37. The stated objective of the Northern Association of Women has been to obtain an indoor pool for Inuvik.

38. Ingamo Hall constructed a playground next to their new building in 1981, using a GNWT outdoor facilities grant obtained through the Recreation Board. The Lion's Club donated playground equipment, but have also fixed up the area around Boot Lake where people swim. The volunteer firemen offered to build a toboggan slide for town children in 1977.

39. The secretary-manager also wrote to the local MLA complaining about this grant, and requested his intercession on Inuvik's behalf at the next Council meeting.

40. See Appendix A for summaries of government grants obtained by communities.

41. The volunteer firemen donated $1,000 to the Recreation Board. Dome has also provided donations to the Board, such as the $30,000 provided in 1980 for recreation needs in Inuvik. The TEST cross-country ski program was supported by a booster club which was very successful at raising funds needed to send team members to competitions. The booster club was also adept at tapping federal and territorial grants.

42. Eddie Dillon was the recreation director for Tuktoyaktuk in April 1980. His duties included organizing the Beluga Jamboree, overseeing the Hamlet bingos, running the movies, applying for grants, attending recreation committee meetings, keeping an eye on the evening gym program at the school, and providing occasional recreation opportunities such as the crib tournament (Dillon, April 1980).

43. Since 1975 there have been at least five different recreation directors. Four of these - Hannah Edwards, Judy Payne, Charles Komiak and Eddie Dillion - are originally from the North. The

fifth director, Ian Dunlop, was hired by the community in late 1980. At that time, Dome had hired their own recreation director for programs on the Base.

44. Bylaw changes were made in 1973, 1978 and 1980.

45. In 1980, there were sixteen sport associations in Inuvik.

46. This position, currently held by Peggy Curtis, has recently been renamed Coordinator of the Recreation Board.

CHAPTER V

DISCREPANCIES

A reexamination of the government approach to NWT recreation services in light of the three community case studies highlights discrepancies which are evident between the foundations underlying government programs and the nature of community recreation. Discrepancies have been drawn from each of the categories examined in the previous two chapters, as outlined below.

Category	Discrepancy
1. Type of activity.	1. Government support to sport development versus traditional activity development.
2. Rationale for organized recreation.	2. Recreation as a right versus recreation as a need.
3. Delivery system for organized recreation	3. Recreation delivery systems which promote dependent versus independent development.

Discrepancy: Government Support to Sport Development versus Traditional Activity Development

An examination of the types of activities supported by government for NWT recreation highlighted an emphasis on developmental recreation. Every program supported by government was either developmental in nature, or had such objectives as part of its guidelines. Community data indicates, however, a range of involvement in developmental activities which coincides with the nature of the community. As a result, only the more acculturated communities were able to benefit from government recreation services and programs.

Within all three communities, sport has clearly become a part of the recreation profile. Spontaneous euro-Canadian activities such as

biking and ice hockey are evident when the weather cooperates. Organized sports are offered primarily through gym nights during the school term. Thus, the inclination exists to play sports. The variation between communities arises, however, when the opportunities for developmental sport are considered. Individuals from Ft. Franklin, the most traditional of the communities, have rarely participated in any developmental competitions. Tuktoyaktuk has been able to access more opportunities. Athletes from that community have been able to attend AWG, for example, as competitors. Inuvik, by contrast, has been able to access developmental opportunities extensively, not only by competing, but also by hosting competitions.

The pattern for traditional activities is somewhat different. Ft. Franklin is the only community where spontaneous traditional activities still occur. Special celebrations and gatherings of native people often prompt such activities. Traditional activities do not, however, seem to be considered as part of an organized recreation program. There was no mention, for example, of traditional activities being played during gym nights. It would appear that the role played by traditional activities is not linked to recreation, but rather to the underlying culture of native people. This hypothesis is supported when the involvement of communities in developmental activities is examined. In Ft. Franklin, where traditional activities are still occurring spontaneously, there was no attempt to create developmental programs for traditional activities. In Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik, conversely, developmental programs were held for traditional activities. In both cases, these programs were justified because they would encourage the retention of traditional activity skills.

It may appear that cultural retention can only be promoted

through participation in traditional events. However, the Dene Games program suggests otherwise. Although a softball tournament runs through the day, drum dances and hand games often occur at night during the festival. As was evident in Ft. Franklin, it appears that traditional activities are most apt to occur when native people gather together for special celebrations. At that time, the older people who know the traditional ways are able to participate amongst themselves, with younger people around to observe and/or participate. Without opportunities for native people to gather together and share these experiences, the old ways will continue to die out because they are not being learned or played, for the most part, anywhere else. Provision of such opportunities is one aspect, therefore, of the development of traditional activities.

Contrast the situation for traditional activities with opportunities available to develop sport skills. Children attending school are taught sport skills through physical education classes. Inter-community competitions, when they occur, involve almost solely sports activities. Teachers, RCMP officers and other euro-Canadians in the community are versed in sport activities, and are able to offer coaching to interested youngsters with the possibility for travel and competition if they train. Students attending high school often turn to sports as a recreational activity. Thus, students leave the school system familiar with sport. If they have competed in the sport, they may also have had opportunities to travel and see new places.

Sport has many positive benefits to offer children apart from playing the activity, such as the opportunity to travel. However, the smaller communities do not have the same opportunity to access these programs. Many children do not advance to high school, but instead

drop out at an early age. Some of these individuals may prefer a traditional life such as trapping to the future offered by school. Other individuals return to the community upon completion of their schooling. Without a well-developed infrastructure for sport development in the community, the competitive future for sport is non-existent. In places such as Inuvik, which have a large number of euro-Canadians experienced in sport development, sport clubs are begun for adults. These clubs are able to utilize services from NWT sport associations such as NCCP, and officiating and players clinics. Thus, the ongoing development of sport, through the development of appropriate leadership skills, is available to individuals able to understand and use the sport system in place.

There are no corresponding opportunities for the development of leadership in traditional activities. Although Northern Games have attempted to hold some leadership training programs, these projects have been funded on a once-only basis. This contrasts with programs such as NCCP, which have a national structure in place and substantial ongoing funding. The NCCP program was first developed in Canada in recognition of the need for ongoing, consistent leadership development. It has been relatively simple for the GNWT to adopt this national program for the NWT. The program has had limited success, however, especially among native people. To date, all instructors for theory and technical courses are euro-Canadian. Similarly, participants in the program are almost exclusively southern Canadians presently residing in the North (Directory of NCCP Coaches in the NWT, 11 September 1982). Once again, the larger, more acculturated communities have been able to benefit from this program, while smaller communities, which do not have contact with the sport associations remain unaware of sport

program opportunities such as NCCP. No government has made any effort, as yet, to recognize the need for a corresponding native activities leadership program, with the concomitant commitment of funds necessary to develop and support such a program.

All three case studies demonstrated community interest in both sport and traditional activities. Developmental opportunities were made available through AWG, TEST, and various sports competitions for athletes participating in sports. Both the Northern Games and the Dene Games, by offering an opportunity for native people to come together and participate as a unique people, have provided the environment necessary for the expression of traditional games. Where the discrepancy occurs, however, is in the opportunities available for the development of leadership in each of these activities. The GNWT has been able to adopt national programs such as NCCP and offer these for sport development. However, no corresponding opportunities have been created which support the development of leadership in traditional activities.

Discrepancy: Recreation as a Right versus Recreation as a Need.

When the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act was passed in 1961, sport and physical fitness became recognized federally as aspects of life deserving of government support. All provincial and territorial recreation departments likewise recognized recreation as a basic social service at a Recreation Ministers Conference in 1974, when it was stated that ". . . recreation is a social service in the same way that health and education are considered as social services. . .". These developments have led to the establishment of recreation as a discrete aspect of life worthy of government support. The singling out of recreation from its integrated role in community life has led to problems at the community

level with government-supported recreation programs, especially in the more traditional communities.

Council minutes from Ft. Franklin and reports in Tuktoyaktuk both emphasized the need for organized recreation as a deterrent to negative social actions. The North is currently in the midst of a cultural and social takeover, as euro-Canadian institutions infiltrate every aspect of life. Social disorders among native people could be predicted as a result -- a prediction which is currently being borne out Traditional life required continuous attention to survival activities. Technology has changed this situation, since most subsistence activities such as hunting are now easier because of the material amenities of southern society. The introduction of wage economy also affected community life, because those who can find jobs now return to the community with very large sums of money, while those who do not work exist on social assistance. Both groups, while in the community, find themselves with a great deal of time on their hands, and only a few things to do. A state of boredom usually results, which is often accompanied by negative activity patterns such as excessive drinking.

Community groups have recognized this situation, and often suggest recreation activities as a diversion to such problems. Inherent in this suggestion is the view that recreation is an integral aspect of the social well-being of the community. This view was reiterated by community delegates at a regional workshop in the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta area. They noted that social services only dealt with issues once they had become a problem. Emphasis on recreation, they felt, would be the logical place to try and circumvent the problem in the first place (regional recreation workshop, January 1983).

Other areas of community life also interlock with recreation. The school gymnasium, for example, is controlled by the local education authority and the principal. It is also the main facility for community recreation during the school year. It becomes important, therefore, that channels of communication are kept open between those who control use of the school, and the local recreation committee.

The economic condition of the community also impacts on recreation. In times of affluence, recreation may be viewed as a way of spending leisure time -- a service which is worthy of a user fee. In poor economic times, however, people may be far more concerned with making ends meet. For them, every opportunity to improve their financial situation must be utilized. Recreation would likely have a lower priority in their lives as a result, and those that participate may be unable to pay any user fee.

The local nursing station also can overlap with community recreation concerns. The area of fitness has not been developed in the North. As the lives of people become more sedentary, this issue may become increasingly important. Both health and recreation can contribute in the area of fitness.

It is clear that many areas of community life are interlinked. Recreation viewed this way cannot be separated from other areas of a person's life which affect the social harmony of a community -- education, the economy, health and social problems. These aspects of community life along with recreation are presently serviced by five GNWT Departments -- Social Services, Health, Economic Development, Education and Local Government (Recreation Division) Unfortunately, each Department remains distinct from the others, with services sometimes overlapping due to this

lack of coordination.

At the community level, however, these areas of life naturally impact on each other. Concerns over recreation are not limited to a need to play, but also stem from other community problems such as frustration from unemployment, dissatisfaction with an inadequate school process, or feelings of hopelessness leading to drinking problems. Improving recreation services may provide a short-term diversion for people, but unless the deeper problems are handled, there will only be a brief respite for the participant -- a band-aid measure which will not result in long-term social harmony for the community.

The current segmented approach to government services creates a problem at the community level because members are forced to deal with their needs on a department by department basis. Logic from a holistic outlook does not always match with the logic of a segmented approach. The alcohol and drug cooordinating council, for example, has recently tried to stop funding recreation under its grant program. The Council feels that the Recreation Division should instead be providing such services (Lafferty, February 1983). The Council's decision leaves community members with no place to turn for funding, since there is no program-specific funding offered by the Recreation Division at present.

The smaller communities in the NWT are struggling to obtain basic services such as proper water and sewage delivery. Councils such as Ft. Franklin rightfully acknowledge such concerns as their most important duty (Kodakin, February 1983). Recreation issues accordingly fall to the side, because in comparison to very pressing other needs, recreation is not as important. In cases where no paid recreation staff exist, grant applications for recreation may not be completed regularly because

completed regularly because of other, more pressing commitments on the hamlet staff. The accessing of grants was smaller in Ft. Franklin than in Tuktoyaktuk or Inuvik. The latter two communities have had paid recreation staff whose role included completion of recreation grant applications.

It is evident that the communities look to organized recreation in large part not as a "right" but rather as a "need". Accordingly, recreation is not desired primarily as an end in itself, but rather as a means of addressing more important concerns. Some community members may wish to have their children participate in national competitions. This wish, however, can stem from an awareness of the benefits inherent in "going outside" rather than from a desire to see their children compete at a national level (Sibbeston, Legislative Assembly Debates, 8 March 1983). Other parents feel that their children should be given the opportunity to participate in traditional activities. Once again, this does not stem solely from a desire to see participation in the activity, but is also desired to help retain a fading way of life. Many parents, however, appear to support the encouragement of recreation in order to keep the children from being bored and getting into trouble. Whether it is traditional activities or sports that are promoted, the underlying message in the requests for increased recreation opportunities is interlocked with community concerns over the social well-being of their members.

Discrepancy: Recreation Delivery Systems Which Promote Dependent versus Independent Development

Governments have created several different delivery channels for recreation. The GNWT promotes community Councils as the only channel for community recreation. Although the NGA and the Dene Games Association have been encouraged in this direction recently, sport, which

channels through NWT sport associations, is an anomaly, because it remains autonomous from Councils. FAS accepted native associations as recreation delivery agents, while Secretary of State, DINA and Manpower and Immigration have also recognized band councils and friendship centres as suitable. This has left the community in the position where programs overlap because different groups in the community have obtained various sources for recreation funding. It has also left some groups such as friendship centres unable to apply for grants they feel are necessary to service their clients (Eagle, June 1982). Along with the confusion which has arisen over the multi-varied channels for recreation available, many groups have had difficulty meeting the administrative and/or programming requirements demanded for recreation grants. This situation leaves community members reliant on government "brokers" who can help them utilize government grants. Ultimately, this results in a continued dependence on government services, rather than the creation of programs which encourage independent recreation development within the community.

An examination of the Recreation Division's stated approach to recreation highlights the colonial nature inherent in recreation services. Division staff are considered to be the "experts" in recreation. All present staff have training and experience in either recreation or physical education. Their role is to pass on such expertise to community members -- to "guide" them towards an effective recreation system. Responsibilities include such items as the responsibility to:

> Plan, develop and initiate programs, policies and procedures of financial assistance for the <u>orderly development</u> [my emphasis] of community recreation services. . .
>
> Provide technical advice, support and direction to communities to ensure they meet program criteria. . .

> Promote positive attitudes toward recreation and educate people to the values of leisure activity. . .
> Encourage, support and guide the development of Community recreation committees. . .
> Advise groups on methods of maximizing public participation in recreation and cultural activities (Recreation Division, "Headquarters/Region Program Responsibility Breakdown, July 1981).

Each of the examples cited represent aspects of "guided recreation". The first responsibility suggests that there is an "orderly development" to community recreation services which must be developed through financial support. This statement assumes that recreation in all communities should progress in the same fashion. The community case studies suggest otherwise. Ft. Franklin, for example, wanted recreation developed to keep the children busy in a manner which did not conflict with native cultural ways. Tuktoyaktuk looked to recreation to bind the social fabric of the community together, while Inuvik justified recreation development because it was considered a municipal service. With the different reasons for community involvement in organized recreation, and the different cultural compositions of the communities, it cannot be assumed that one approach to recreation development will suffice. The question must be asked -- "who determines what orderly development is?" The Division statement suggested that recreation staff would be the judge.

The next statement alludes to the role of staff as "brokers" for recreation between the Division and the community. Government program guidelines are written in a standardized manner, with a GNWT Forms Management Division available to provide advice. Unfortunately, these forms rely heavily on reading and writing skills and "southern logic" for their interpretation. This may be acceptable in southern Canada, where most people can read and write English, but in the North many

people, especially native people, have grown up speaking a native language first. In many cases they have little or no writing skills in English. This situation, combined with the often incomprehensible workings of government, results in the need for "government brokers" who can help communities obtain government services. The accessibility of the government workers does not, however, legitimize the continuing "bureaucratic style" of government forms. Instead, the documents should be simplified so that they can be used by community people without the aid of a "broker". Only then will responsibility be properly shifted from government middlemen to community members for the accessing of recreation services.

The GNWT also intends to "promote positive attitudes toward recreation and educate people to the values of leisure activity". This is a paternalistic statement, considering that recreation activities are carried out for personal enjoyment. It intimates that community members must be convinced of the value of recreation, an idea which begs the question concerning whose form of "recreation" is to be valued. More important, though, it could be taken to mean that recreation can be a panacea for the problems of the North. The Flynn Report, presented to the Legislative Committee in 1974, suggested that community recreation programs, supported by government, must solve some problems such as unhappy, unhealthy people, antisocial behavior and lack of jobs and recognition (Flynn, 1974:1). Although recreation is acknowledged by Councils as one means of trying to prevent such problems, recreation is not the total solution to the problem. Community members must be given the responsibility and resources to work towards their own social harmony, one part of which is recreation. Only in looking at the

situation holistically can community members work toward their view of leisure, and the role of organized recreation within their community.

Recreation Division staff are also instructed to "encourage, support and guide the development of community recreation committees." Presently, communities are actively encouraged to create recreation bylaws and terms-of-reference which identify Council responsibility for providing organized recreation services and to detail the formation of a recreation commitee. Regional recreation officers hold community and regional workshops where the development of suitable bylaws are discussed or prepared. This movement towards bylaws is prompted further by the recreation administration grant, which requires as a precondition for application that a community bylaw be established. Despite these incentives, it has been evident that the communities under examination did not benefit from this process. All three case studies had recreation committees which were considered to be ineffective, even though all three operated using different systems. For these communities, the creation of a recreation bylaw did not achieve the purpose for which it was intended -- the "orderly development" of community recreation.

The final responsiblity cited for GNWT recreation staff is to "advise groups on methods of maximizing public participation in recreation and cultural activities". While recreation staff may know of euro-Canadian methods for increasing participation, the small amount of native participation in most developmental sports programs, which are based on euro-Canadian principles, suggests that other methods may be required to promote native participation. Native people are logical sources for ideas on maximizing native participation in recreation

activities. Unfortunately, they have not been consulted by government on this issue to date.

All of these examples represent "guided recreation development" because the methods of organizing and delivering recreation are "intellectualized" by recreation staff based on their previous experience and training, and then "taught" to community members rather than developed in conjunction with native expertise in their own way of life. It is a colonial approach because the decisions concerning what is best for community recreation are made by non-natives, rather than by northerners. It is also colonial because what is considered best in euro-Canadian society is accepted as best for the NWT communities, without considering the unique nature of NWT communities and developing approaches which utilize native expertise in forming a northern community recreation system.

"Guided development" has many problems as an approach to recreation in the North. Training for one specific skill is, however, essential. That skill is the administrative capability to be accountable for government funds -- a requirement placed on any government contribution. Many native associations such as Northern Games have had problems accounting for government grants. This fact has almost led to the collapse of these organizations, yet no training program has been sponsored by the government to alleviate this problem. Financial accountability stands out as the most essential skill required by groups using public funds.

Programming leadership does not fall under the same category as administrative leadership. To date, sport programs have been fairly directive in their programming requirements. This is to be expected, since the programs are structured to tie in with their national counterparts. Associations promoting traditional activities

have not been subject to the same programming expectations, a fact which likely contributes to continued native organizational involvement and participant involvement, because it gives organizers the freedom to establish a program which they feel would be meaningful to their clients.

The "guided development" approach presently in place does not allow for the independent development of community recreation programs. Instead, it ends up best serving the needs of euro-Canadian communities which can relate to the approach taken, leaving the smaller communities without services. It is clear that a training program for administrative skills is essential in order to ensure that proper accounting of government funds occurs. Administrative leadership must not, however, be confused with programming leadership. The latter form of leadership, if outlined in national terms, once again discriminates against the smaller communities which are not familiar with the sport system in place -- a system which originated in southern Canada. Where possible, programming leadership should be left flexible enough so that native people can develop programs which will be meaningful for their participants.

Summary

Three discrepancies have been highlighted which exist between government services for recreation and community practices. Each discrepancy ranges in size, however, with the least acculturated communities most impacted by the problem. This problem occurs because the recreation system in the North has been modelled on similar programs across southern Canada. Communities which have an understanding of the southern system are thus most able to use the northern system to

their advantage.

Discrepancy: Government Support to Sport Development versus Traditional Activity Development

All governments delivering programs placed an emphasis on developmental recreation. Community case studies show a range, however, in the degree to which they utilized developmental opportunities, with the more acculturated communities better able to access government services.

Communities are primarily active in sports, although traditional activities also occur on occasion. Traditional activities seem tied to a cultural role rather than an ongoing recreational role in community life. Developmental opportunities for traditional activities occur when native people come together to celebrate.

Sport development usually begins at school in physical education classes. Opportunities for intercommunity travel become available to the athletes. When individuals return home after school, however, they are often faced with a poorly developed infrastructure for sport. The larger communities have members already familiar with the sport system in the NWT who are able to access sport services and thus continue the provision of opportunities for competitive sport. The smaller communities, which are unfamiliar with the sport system, are often not aware of available sport services, and thus do not benefit from government programs.

A well-developed sport leadership program is established in the North because of the national NCCP program. This program has been accessed primarily by southern Canadians currently residing in the NWT. Meanwhile, no comparable leadership program has been developed for

native activities, even though it is evident that the programming approach for traditional activities is different than for sports activities.

Discrepancy: Recreation as a Right versus Recreation as a Need.

All levels of government have recognized sport and recreation as basic rights of Canadians which should be supported with government funding. The government approach to such support, however, has been to treat recreation as a discrete aspect of community life which must be supported for its own sake. Other services which affect the social well-being of people, such as economic development, social services, health and education are treated in the same manner by government. Each service area is handled by a separate government department, with resultant duplication of services due to a lack of coordination over overlapping areas.

At the community level, the various social concerns of the community are integrated rather than discrete issues. Recreation concerns are tied to other aspects of community life, especially with the current problems of vandalism, boredom and alcoholism. It becomes very difficult for communities to deal with their problems in a holistic manner, however, because the government system is not structured that way. It was evident from the community case studies that the smaller two communities saw organized recreation primarily as a diversionary program for other negative social patterns in the community. Recreation for them was a "need" in order to balance the current problems in their community rather than a "right" to which they were entitled. It was only in Inuvik, the most acculturated community, that recreation was viewed as a municipal responsibility on its own. This finding supports

the premise that Inuvik is best able to function according to the "southern" form of municipal recreation -- the form currently promoted by governments for the NWT.

Discrepancy: Recreation Delivery Systems Which Promote Dependent Versus Independent Development

A variety of community channels have been accessed by different government departments for the delivery of recreation services. This has led to confusion on the part of community members, so far as who can access which grants. Duplication of services sometimes happens as a result even in small communities.

The "guided" approach to recreation services taken by the GNWT reflects the colonial nature of the government system. Recreation is developed by non-native professionals and "taught" to community members, rather than developed in conjunction with native people. As expected, the method which is successful in the South is often adopted as suitable for the North. This approach to recreation services, combined with the southern-oriented procedures and forms for accessing government grants, demands that government "brokers" be available to help communities access grants. This process leads to a continued community dependence on government services, rather than promoting the development of independent, community-specific recreation systems and programs.

The need to train community members in administrative skills to ensure accountability for government funds is evident: as yet, however, no such training has been available. Programming leadership, on the other hand, has proven best left to native people for the provision of traditional activities. Meanwhile, sport programming leadership has entailed a more directive approach by government, since

sport programs often link up with their national counterparts, and thus must meet an already established set of guidelines.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The foundation upon which government programs for NWT recreation have been structured has been examined through three categories:

1) the type of activities supported by government,
2) the rationale for government support,
3) the delivery system in place.

In the North, there are two very different perspectives on the nature of government services. The "northern frontiersman" views government as responsible for providing services comparable to the rest of Canada. Accordingly, these people support the system in place, since it draws heavily on government structures in the South, and works toward a national calibre of services. Native people who see the North as their "northern homeland" do not view government services in the same favourable light. Instead, services modelled after southern Canada are considered inappropriate, because they have not been developed in conjunction with native people, who alone are familiar with the lifestyle of small communities in the North.

The government is primarily made up of people from southern Canada. The system itself is structured in accordance with southern government standards. In view of this, it was hypothesized at the outset that the government programs for recreation would provide for the "frontiersman's" needs more than the native person's needs. Accordingly, the program foundations were expected to reflect:

1) an emphasis on activities which were popular nationally,
2) a rationale which views recreation as a discrete aspect of

life, and

3) a delivery system which is modelled after the nationally accepted approach.

This approach to recreation was expected to benefit the larger, more euro-Canadian communities at the expense of smaller, more traditional communities.

An examination of government supported programs highlighted the expected foundation:

1) Activities developed and/or supported by government were based on southern Canada examples. These included the AWG, the TEST program, the NSRP, and the development of NWT sport associations and community recreation. Meanwhile, the two festivals which offered traditional activities were conceived and organized by native people rather than government.

2) Government programs were supported because they encouraged the development of sports in accordance with the national approach, or the opportunity for native groups to "express" their culture through traditional activities in accordance with a policy of cultural pluralism.

3) The GNWT delivery system reflected the national approach because community recreation was channeled through the municipal council while sports were delivered by NWT sport associations. Administrative and programming expectations, for the most part, mirrored those of southern Canada. Federal government programs usually flowed through channels accepted for native people, including band councils and native

political groups. This reflects the fact that their involvement arose primarily because of the native component of the NWT population.

An examination of the three community case studies also supported the hypotheses.

1) The Inuvik residents were better able to participate in government programs than the smaller communities.
2) Inuvik saw recreation as a discrete aspect of life -- an aspect which was a municipal responsibility. Meanwhile, the smaller communities saw recreation activities as an interlinked aspect of community life with a rationale arising from the other needs of the community.
3) The delivery system, which includes recreation committees and sport associations, operated most effectively in Inuvik. Communities of a more traditional nature had more difficulty in obtaining grants and services through the established channels.

The discrepancies noted were based on the difference between the government approach to recreation and the community reality.

1) Although the government programs supported opportunities for both sports and traditional activities to be expressed, the necessary leadership development was not similarly offered. While the national NCCP program has been instituted in the North to develop sport leaders, no comparable program has been facilitated for the leadership style of native people, for events such as traditional activities.
2) While recreation has been supported by governments as a

right of northerners, there has been little done to integrate the government approach taken towards recreation with interlocked services such as education, social services, economic development and health.

3) The "guided" approach promoted by the GNWT has been modelled after the euro-Canadian system for recreation, using government workers as "brokers" which translate the system to native people. This approach, which maintains a delivery system difficult to comprehend in the smaller communities, encourages the continuing dependence of the people on government, rather than promoting the development of individualized community approaches to recreation.

Recommendations

The phrase "northern frontier, northern homeland" alludes to a problem inherent in considering recommended solutions to the discrepancies already noted. Northern political development is viewed in two very different ways. Groups in the NWT recognize the colonial relationship which exists between the federal and territorial governments and wish to see greater political independence for the NWT. The "northern frontier" approach, prevalent among people who have come to the North from southern Canada, has been to work towards the goal of northern self-government. Native political groups, whose ancestry has been based in the North for thousands of years, have been working towards an additional goal -- self-determination -- which they demand as a prerequisite to self-government.

The political objective of the "frontiersman" is provincial status for the NWT. Territorial councillors have continued to work towards this goal (Burkhardt, 1974), which is captured in the first postulate of

the 1966 Carrothers' Commission.

> Every citizen of Canada has a claim to participate in the institutions of responsible government under the Canadian constitution; it is a goal of political development of the Northwest Territories that the optimum number of Canadian citizens resident in the Territories should, at an optimum speed, participate in government as fully as Canadian citizens resident in the provinces (Carrothers, 1966:128 cited in Burkhardt, 1974:98).

Efforts aimed at achieving provincial status have included the development of euro-Canadian political institutions which demonstrate to the federal government that the NWT is capable of accepting the responsibilities accorded to a province (Bean, 1977). This is the environment within which the GNWT Recreation Division must currently operate.

Native people are seeking self-government, but not necessarily the form of government which exists in southern Canada. The Dene Declaration represents an approach taken by native political groups.

> We the Dene of the NWT insist on the right to be regarded by ourselves and the world as a nation....
>
> While the Native people of Canada are a minority in their homeland, the Native people of the NWT, the Dene and the Inuit, are a majority of the population of the NWT....
>
> The Dene find themselves as part of a country. That country is Canada. But the government of Canada is not the government of the Dene. These governments were not the choice of the Dene, these were imposed upon the Dene....
>
> And while there are realities we are forced to submit to, such as the existence of a country called Canada, we insist on the right to self-determination as a distinct people and the recognition of the Dene Nation....
>
> What we seek then is independence and self-determination within the country of Canada.

Unlike the "frontiersman", native groups demand that they be able to develop a political structure appropriate to northern native needs, a structure which is not automatically mirrored on southern Canada.

If the assumptions underlying the present government are accepted, then several of the discrepancies noted in chapter five would not be perceived as serious problems by government. The government perspective is, however, euro-Canadian in nature. While programs are provided which

are accessible to all groups in the NWT, it is apparent that the prime beneficiaries are southern Canadians presently resident in the North. Thus, recommendations have been broken into two sections, -- those which are suited to the continuation of the present government system, and those which would suit a system more congruous with a "northern homeland" view of the North.

The Northern Frontier

Type of Activity

If the present government system is viewed as acceptable, whereby largely euro-Canadian professionals provide government services, then the major problem to be remedied lies with the ability of communities to provide an infrastructure conducive to recreation development. A greater emphasis on community level recreation is necessary, through the development of appropriate competitive opportunities, leadership skills, facilities, and funding.

Competitive Opportunities: Recognition of regional differences in the NWT has been apparent through the proposed division of the Territories along cultural lines, which was supported by NWT residents in an April 1982 plebisite. Regional political bodies have emerged such as the Baffin Region Inuit Association. A Regional and Tribal Councils Ordinance is currently being developed to recognize such bodies legally.

Regional recreation competitions should be supported financially by government for similar reasons. The large size of the NWT, combined with expensive travelling costs and cultural diversity, point to regions as the logical first level of development. A variety of sports, chosen beforehand by the region, could allow for broad

participation. Funding could perhaps be provided for a regional school tournament through a combination program of GNWT education and recreation authorities, with technical expertise provided, when necessary, by the Recreation Division. Community representatives could help determine the events to be included each year, be they traditional and/or sports events.

During the summer, regional Northern Games could provide an annual gathering for competition. The current pattern, whereby AWG sports are done in the winter, and traditional gatherings are held in the summer, is logical in part because teachers, who coach most sports, are gone throughout the summer months. This pattern could be tried, at any rate, for the annual regional Games, with trans-Arctic Games held biennially, alternating between AWG and traditional summer games festivals.

Leadership: Leadership development is also essential for community recreation development. Although occasional training opportunities have been sponsored by government, these resources have not been developed effectively. Three types of leadership have been discussed -- administrative, programming and skill specific. Currently some administrative guidance is offered to the Northern Games and Dene Games Associations by the Recreation Division. Meanwhile a new sport administration program, based on a similar project in Saskatchewan, has just been implemented by Sport North. In this system, sport association members are trained in methods of running a volunteer agency. At the community level, administrative skills are encouraged by the GNWT regional recreation officers.

Programming leadership has not been the focus of much activity by governments. GNWT workshops have been held infrequently, to train

leaders primarily for summer programs. Some programming skills are included in regional recreation workshops. Plans were made to prepare leaders in the Baffin and Inuvik regions for summer recreation programs in 1982; unfortunately, the Baffin workshop was cancelled because of a lack of community interest. The Inuvik workshop occurred, but was very limited in its scope.

Skill specific leadership opportunities for sport have been provided through sport associations. Most of these were based upon the content of NCCP courses, which have been developed by national sport governing bodies and funded by the GNWT through Sport North. Leadership workshops for traditional activities have been provided by the NGA on occasion with funding from federal and GNWT governments. There has not, however, been any consistent approach developed for the preparation of such leaders.

While leadership development has remained a priority within both federal and territorial circles, there have been no long term efforts to create and offer a well thought out program. Attempts have focused on encouraging local leaders to participate in programs adopted from southern Canada such as the NCCP. The content was re-designed, on occasion, to make it more appropriate to the northern situation. These programs have been provided almost exclusively in the larger NWT centres with leaders and participants almost totally of a euro-Canadian heritage. At the same time, there has been a dearth of material in the area of native leadership.

The need for a comprehensive community recreation leaders program specific to the North is evident. This program, which would provide training for both administrative and programming skills, needs

to be developed in conjunction with native leaders, whereby they are the "experts" on what is suitable, and government workers serve in a facilitating capacity. The program should revolve around processes and content which are valid within the communities and meaningful to its members. A practical rather than theoretical focus should be maintained, which emphasizes on the job practical experience and ongoing feedback rather than classroom lectures and written assignments. Native trainers should be used, and funding provided to communities to employ program graduates.

The sections on administrative skills must include processes for financial accountability. The candidate could "intern" under the community administrator, or a similarly qualified employee in another organization. The organizational approach presented for recreation systems should be characterized by its flexibility to the community situation, rather than drawn entirely from southern Canadian examples. Thus, administrative approaches from southern Canada, while valuable as a basic model, could not be adopted totally for use in the North. Careful evaluation of the limitations of such models must be undertaken, and changes made such as a simplification of accounting terms to ensure their suitability to native communities.

Programming skills should be developed in a similar manner. While southern Canadians can recommend a range and breadth of program targets for a recreation schedule, it is people familiar with community life who will best identify the activities which might prove suitable. Leaders should also be instructed on ways of accessing skill-specific leadership programs for sports and/or traditional activities.

Skill specific sport leadership is presently carried out through volunteer sport associations using primarily the NCCP program. These clinics are not reaching the smaller communities, a situation which exists for most services provided by sport associations. An approach to sport development must be considered in which communities are better able to identify their own skill leadership needs. Sport associations could provide NCCP instructors, yet not be expected to solicit all potential community clinics for submission to Sport North each year. Presently, if they do not identify the clinic, then it goes undone. This is too large a responsibility to expect from volunteers, considering the vast expanse of the North. Instead, GNWT recreation staff could coordinate community submissions and ensure that they are delivered to the appropriate NWT sport association.

Traditional skills workshops have been held, but no structured, ongoing program for leadership development has been created. Native people familiar with teaching the games should be supported if they are willing to create a skill training package and serve as training instructors. One possibility which could be considered is to obtain federal aid to create an NCCP package for traditional games which reflects a native approach to those games. The feasibility of this project depends on the interest of native people to undertake such an endeavour, but such a project could conceivably contribute towards a further understanding of native games in southern Canada.

Facilities: The recent GNWT facilities policy has greatly improved upon former programs for capital construction. Government regulations demand that

specific standards for items such as health, fire and safety are maintained. This has led to the closing of many community recreation facilities over the past few years. Communities require suitable "core" facilities, such as the combination gym-community hall funded within the facilities policy. Community ownership of the facility, with the Department of Education utilizing the facility where possible, is also a good direction to take. Greater government support for facility operating costs is essential, since these costs usually drain local recreation coffers. Finally, policy provision for equipment purchases properly recognizes that equipment, as well as a facility, is required to provide suitable recreation opportunities.

The concept of regional facilities which has been put forward in the new facilities policy should be reviewed further. In keeping with this concept, a superior facility could be placed in one particular community in a region, thereby giving all communities the opportunity to use a "suitable" competitive environment at regional tournaments. Most communities, however, would not have access to such a facility on a daily basis. As well, participants would have to return yearly to the town where the facility is located for competitions, rather than being able to rotate amongst the communities. A decision as to the value of this concept can only be made once communities have discussed their views in a regional forum.

Funding Support: The GNWT emphasis on block grants is valuable, because it provides for discretionary use of funds by the community. However, the present per capita grant is far too small to provide true "discretionary power" to the community. If no increase can be gained

for the per capita grant, then the recreation administration grant must be made more accessible to the communities by removing the prerequisite that a recreation bylaw be in place, so that the community has more discretionary funds.

Apart from a larger discretionary fund of money, specific funding is needed for facility construction, and for ongoing O & M costs. GNWT funds are also required to initiate programs for administrative and programming leadership development -- programs which are accessible to all communities. Regional competition travel costs need to be subsidized, as well as similar costs for trans-Arctic events. Skill specific leadership funding must reach all communities, with associations responsible for providing the technical aid. As well, territorial associations should be directly responsible for territorial-level responsibilities, such as organizing competitions and fielding teams for NWT contingents to interprovincial and national championships.

Rationale for Organized Recreation

The federal government rationales for funding NWT recreation were clearly framed according to the nature of the activity being performed. Sports could be supported by FAS because they occurred within a "disadvantaged" region in Canada, while traditional activities could be supported by Secretary of State and DINA because native people have a cultural heritage to retain. Within GNWT, recreation was supported as a social service required by all citizens. The territorial pattern of delivery reflected a dichotomy between sport and traditional pursuits, and led to the same outcome as the federal government -- "mainstream"

development of sport and a less well-defined, culturally labelled development for traditional activities.

Community case studies suggested a variety of local reasons for developing organized recreation. The holistic approach to life existent in communities, of which recreation is one part, calls for greater flexibility in the rationales accorded to recreation. Melding of traditional and euro-Canadian activities must be acceptable, as already happens at the Dene Games. More importantly, the artificial government boundaries between recreation and other community social services must be dissolved.

Both Bopp (1981) and Davis (1965) encouraged the unifying of government departments serving native needs. Bopp suggested that only one committee, serving both social and service needs of the community, should be formed while Davis called for a combined-programs approach. It is clear that greater coordination is needed between the various GNWT departments responsible for the social welfare of northerners, since many of these services overlap. A territorial cultural policy is presently being developed. This policy will hopefully reflect the difference in meaning between "culture" in the North as compared with the South. A natural outgrowth of this policy could conceivably be a cultural secretariat, with a mandate to oversee the social departments within the government since culture is inherent in, rather than an adjunct to, life in the North.

At the community level, it is especially important that barriers artificially constructed by government be removed and that recreation be examined as an integral part of the social well-being of the community. Communities require the responsibility and the funding to work towards

their specific needs in this area in holistic rather than a segmented manner. This will no doubt require a change in perspective for the southern trained government worker.

Community staff could be an integral requirement in this process. Although there is not enough work to do for a year-round recreation director, in most communities a position for a local facilitator dealing with all areas of social well-being could be justified. This person could be trained in administrative, programming and facilitating skills, through an interdepartmental training program developed for community residents. It could operate much like the present local administrators training program offered by the Department of Local Government, except that expertise would be drawn from native people and government workers. These employees, responsible to community Councils, could be a valuable addition to the communities. If the community was not interested in training someone for this position, then a regional resource person, similarly trained, might be available upon request.

Delivery System for Recreation

The large size, and diverse environmental and cultural circumstances of the NWT greatly inhibit the development and effectiveness of territorial associations. A regional breakdown for communities seems to make much more sense when it comes to providing for recreation services and competitions. Although the GNWT Recreation Division is hesitant to form regional committees because they may usurp community responsibilities, this appears to be the logical organizational structure when travel for competition is considered. Political boundaries could be tried initially, although changes could be made if the communities preferred a different arrangement.

These regional committees could be the contact point for both sport and culture associations as well as a link to the individual communities. Native political associations and regional community bodies could both liaise with the regional committee if desired. Ideally, regional committees could decide upon the activities to be carried out at annual tournaments, as well as prepare for the traditional summer games. A paid administrator could look after the financial accountability within the region. Community appeals which might arise, whereby a particular group such as a friendship centre did not feel that its needs were being met, might also be brought to the regional committee for a hearing, although the ultimate decision would rest with the community.

Such a committee could contribute toward the development of native leadership and the documentation of traditional activities. It could also serve as a lobby voice for community recreation needs to the government. This could be the forum for discussions such as the development of regional facilities. Members would have to be responsible, however, for ensuring that they did not usurp the community role, by carefully assessing the difference between community-level and regional concerns.

The Northern Homeland

While recreation professionals, along with other southern Canadians, attempt to contribute to the "advancement" of native people in the North, some uncomfortable questions continue to remain just below the surface. Does Canadian society have to deal with the North in this manner? Is there any way that alternative political forms could exist within a large system? Is the native cry for self-determination a pipe

dream, or could it become a reality?

A 1965 report on native people in northern Saskatchewan, A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers, concluded that

> . . . the closer integration of Metis and Indians into modern society is inevitable. Integration is increasing even though some Indians and others say it is undesirable. It is a fact that integration has grown more or less steadily up until the present, and only whimsy could now foretell its halt or reversal. The Indians and Metis, along with those having a neighbourly concern for them, must count, therefore, on an increase of the effects and accompaniments of integration. The goals of the Indian will increasingly include all the goals, material or other, held by the rest of Canada. The Indian will define opportunity in employment, spending, education and recreation, more and more as the rest of Canada defines it. But unless a major deviation in another historical trend occurs, the gap between opportunity and goals will widen (Hawthorn, 1965:579).

This statement paints a grim future for native people. Council minutes show that expectations have developed for recreation services in the North. Concomitantly, there has been a large gap between the "have" communities such as Inuvik, and the "have not" communities such as Ft. Franklin. Increasing budget restraints give additional fuel to Hawthorn's prediction on the widening gap between opportunity and goals.

But not all "nations" have fared badly. Mandel includes an interesting chapter on "Indians, Eskimos and Islamic Nomads" in his unpublished manuscript titled Soviet, But Not Russian: The Other People of the USSR. According to him,

> . . . there are literally millions of people whose ways of life at the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917 will be immediately recognizable by American Indians of one or another tribe as being highly similar to their own either today or when the white man first came, or at some date in between. . . Another 100,000 compare to the Indians and Eskimos of Alaska (Mandel, 1980)

There was a great push in Russia, following the revolution, towards education for this mainly illiterate group of people. Aboriginal

professionals now abound, but the majority return to their rural communities to carry out their professional role. A respect for the culture of these people is apparent among Russians, and with the people themselves. Thus, although educated in other parts of the country, aboriginal people ". . . retained a total loyalty to their own culture and personal values and character of a type shaped in clan-organized societies" (Ibid).

Affirmative action programs for native people from a traditional lifestyle into higher education have been created in Russia. This approach is especially valuable because it is the native people who will find it comfortable returning to their own community. In contract to this, the continual flow of euro-Canadian professionals through communities in the NWT does not allow for the development of consistent community development. Indigenous professionals are required if this vicious circle is ever to end.

The aborigines in Russia have the option of living a traditional or a modern lifestyle, or a combination of both. Traditional pursuits are respected and labourers are paid accordingly. In contrast to this, native people in the North that choose to live a traditional lifestyle face a life of relative poverty. As well, northerners must presently leave their community to train academically, then often locate in one of the larger centres to work, since the jobs are primarily situated in these centres. The choice is too often clear -- poverty within a familiar lifestyle, or material gains and alienation. It is the absence of real choice which makes this situation unfair for native people.

The presence of a largely euro-Canadian work force in the North must be acknowledged. Transients from southern Canada are not "at home" in northern communities for the most part. Government workers tend to follow a familiar "two years, then out" pattern, which does little to build a relationship of understanding between local members and these professionals. Indigenous staff are obviously the preferred alternative.

The situation has been considered by government in the North. Unfortunately, native people have not entered into many positions in the civil service. A comparison can be drawn between native people in government jobs and native people in sport. The question to be answered is "does the dearth of native involvement occur because people are not interested, or because they do not have access to these opportunities, or because they cannot accept the manner in which the experience occurs? An indigenous work force must be developed before this question can be answered.

Type of Activity

The question of whether or not native people can develop their own form of leadership skills must be answered in the North. Presently, euro-Canadian professionals lay down the rules for recreation opportunities, and then hypothesize on why native people do not often sign up for such activities, or quit part way through the experience. Granted, there is room to question whether or not a unique form of native leadership exists. As long as guided development occurs, however, this question cannot be answered. Only when native leaders are brought together and given the latitude to discuss their own concerns and proposed solutions can such an issue be answered.

Development of a native style of recreation leadership rather than merely a copy of the southern Canadian approach, seems necessary in order to improve community recreation. It has been clearly shown that there are problems with sport development in NWT communities. Community members will require specific training to help with the problems of the North affecting the well-being of people, and of the society in general. Professionals from southern Canada will continue to offer the only expertise they know, which originates from the South, until native people can displace them.

The native leadership training course is the best alternative available at this time. Native political associations are presently absorbed by land claim settlements. Under their sponsorship, however, with technical aid from both community members and government professionals, a community leaders program could be established which caters to individuals willing to return to their communities. Facilitating skills would be essential, as would administrative and programming skills, and a thorough understanding of government at federal, territorial and local levels. These skills would be combined with a knowledge of and sensitivity to traditional ways. Communities may then have the tools to begin developing a style of life which can capitalize on the benefits of the South, yet be compatible with the realities of the North.

Although the idea of "teaching" native leaders is not congruent with traditional culture, native leaders do emerge, as is evident in other areas of life. The annual Dene Nation Assembly gathers together several hundred people from the communities for a week of meetings, during which time traditional activities, including recreational pastimes, occur.

There has obviously been some underlying leadership involved in arranging for such meetings; these organizers might be able to speak to the nature of "native leadership".

A similar-sized meeting with members from the Inuit communities was held in Spring 1982, when the Inuit Cultural Institute held a week-long celebration, with some documentation of traditional activities in Pelly Bay. Native leaders involved in this process could, if they were interested, prepare a method of developing native leadership which was congruous with their culture. The value of both these gatherings is that they involved large numbers of people, as happens at the Northern Games and the Dene Games, yet they were operated in a manner which was congruent with the native lifestyle. Thus, they serve as models to demonstrate that major activities can be organized in a manner which is compatible with native people. This method may not vary perceptively from organizers in southern Canada; however, that fact cannot be established until native people are encouraged to develop their own leadership training programs.

Rationale for Organized Recreation

The ethnocentric view of recreation held by government bureaucrats relegated traditional activities to solely a cultural preservation role. Concomitantly, participation in sports activities working towards eventual integration with the national system was considered to be an important goal of the government. Individual community reasons for interest in recreation, however, varied from each other, and from the common government rationales for supporting recreation. It seems that recreation

cannot be treated as a distinct aspect of life in smaller, more traditional communities. Although recreation has the unique capacity to contribute toward personal and social harmony, this is more difficult to achieve when it is kept separate from other social matters in the community such as education, social services, health and economic development. These areas must be coordinated at both the GNWT and the community level, with enough discretion provided to the community so that it can identify and work toward the social balance which it desires. Just as native leadership requires techniques different from euro-Canadian sports leadership, so also the various departments contributing toward the social harmony of the community require techniques which are suited to NWT communities, not just to communities in the South.

This requires, as a first step, that the various areas of concern are coordinated at both community and government levels, in order to allow the community to work toward a unified social harmony. All communities would retain the flexibility, however, to operate separate committees if that was their preference. Second, discretionary funding should be available between the various areas contributing toward social harmony, so that communities can balance their particular conditions as they see fit. Finally, community members must be given responsibility for identifying their own needs in working towards social harmony. Bureaucrats may facilitate this process, or offer technical assistance upon request, but they should not assume that the form of activity (eg. recreation) offered by governments in southern Canada is automatically suited to northern communities. Civil servants

sensitive to cultural differences will hopefully look to, encourage, and aid communities in developing an approach to problems which will be suited to the particular community setting, thus taking on a facilitating/consulting role rather than a teaching/indoctrinating role within the community.

Delivery System for Recreation

Coordination and full utilization of human resources seem to be major requirements for an improved recreation system in the NWT. With the small number of people in the territories, and the restricted number of individuals who are familiar with government operations and processes such as proper financial accounting, it is necessary to be more flexible in the expectations placed on recreation organizations. Financial accountability is a necessity where government funds are used. This has been set as a criterion for associations by requiring that organizations incorporate as a society. This process requires a yearly financial statement from the organization, as well as the establishment of a constitution and bylaws. Unfortunately, this is a very "legalistic" process, which does not mean much to the association. Material is usually prepared for them, or mirrored on the documents already developed by a similar organization.

The requirement of incorporation highlights a problem with the expectations placed on recreation organizations. Financial accountability is required. Unfortunately, the euro-Canadian model of dealing with this problem is taken in total, and made a requirement of recreation associations. Other alternatives, specific to the problem of accountability, were not examined and tried first, which might have enabled the system to remain

more meaningful to the organizers. Other organizations familiar with the process of financial accountability, for example, could provide this service for the recreation association. Two organizations which could be considered are the community administrator, and an administrator within a regional political association. With financial accountability thus ensured, an interested representative from the recreation organization could receive a basic accountability training program to enable the organization to eventually take on the accountability role. Conversely, if the association members did not want to accept that responsibility, they could be allowed to contract it permanently to an organization of their choice.

Such an approach demonstrates the way that human resources in the North could be utilized without having to adopt the entire euro-Canadian organizational approach. Contracting other administrative skills, be they euro-Canadian or native, could likewise be allowed. This would permit a wider selection of people, particularly native people, to remain involved in the organization of recreation in a directing, if not a direct administering capacity, without having to "learn the ropes" of administration first.

This approach requires that the GNWT in particular be more flexible in the channels which it recognizes. Presently, there is no link between the Recreation Division and native organizations. Yet the latter associations have valuable skills which they might be willing to use for the benefit of native recreation associations. Likewise, if a community band council has skills it is willing to contract to a recreation association, the Division should support such a move. It is time for the Division to recognize that native leadership and organizational

skills are not solely limited to the present delivery channels. If native recreation leadership is accepted as a priority, then the NWT organizations which can provide such services best, such as cultural institutes, political native associations, friendship centres and band councils, must be allowed a place in the northern recreation system.

At the territorial level, GNWT education, health, economic development, social service and recreation agencies all provide services affecting the social harmony of the community. Some form of coordination must be established between these five agencies. An umbrella secretariat might be one form of coordination, which could serve as a cultural watchdog for the Departments, ensuring that programs which exist or are developed reflect the particular interests of the community. Federal resources could also be coordinated with this secretariat.

Coordination at the government level should be matched by a comparable community structure. Presently, the municipal Council handles primarily the "hard services" of the community, while other services are provided through a variety of channels.[1] The community should be able to formulate a single structure which deals with the social needs of the community. They should be provided enough discretionary funding to bolster up those aspects of community services which they feel are needed to improve the social condition of their community. Technical assistance and facilitating services should be available from GNWT departments upon request. Administrative needs of this committee could be met by the community administrator, with no direct link required to Council unless desired by the community. If larger communities wished to have several sub-committees operating, which pertained to various government departments, then this could be accommodated, so long as the sub-committees liaised to provide overall direction for the social programs of the community.

Sport North is a valuable structure, because it gives sport volunteers some control over their affairs, and a more powerful lobby voice. A similar structure is needed for organizations run by native people, enabling them to identify their own recreation needs, and to provide a strong lobby for those wishes. The exact membership of this federation would have to be discussed with native people; however, it should be flexible enough to allow several types of groups to be involved.

Territorial sport associations create a problem because they liaise with local sports clubs rather than with community recreation committees. This limits the services available to communities which do not have sport clubs. Recreation committees should be able to become members of territorial sport associations. Flexibility should be encouraged so that as many communities as possible can benefit from the services of sport associations, with benefits to the association dependent on their ability to service all communities in the NWT.

It is clear that the delivery system presently in place is not serving all communities in the North equally. Modifying the channels so that the smaller communities can benefit from government services for recreation will greatly reduce the discrepancies presently in place in the government system for recreation.

Summary of Recommendations

The northern frontier, northern homeland perspective has been used to illustrate the needs of two very different groups in the North. Reality, however, is never that black and white. The recommendations which have been offered all work towards a greater sensitivity to the needs of small, traditional native communities in the North. Those recommenda-

tions included under the "northern frontier" label accept the government system as it exists today. The "northern homeland" suggestions, in comparison, are grounded on the assumption that native people must be granted the right -- and thus develop the skills -- which will lead to their self-determination as a people within Canada.

The Northern Frontier:

1. Greater emphasis on community level recreation, through the development of appropriate competitive opportunities, leadership skills, facilities and funding.
2. Greater coordination between the various departments responsible for the social welfare of northerners, with concomitant flexibility at the community level to allow a holistic treatment of social concerns.
3. The development of a system of regional recreation committees responsible for both sport and traditional activities.

The Northern Homeland:

1. Development by native people of a community leaders program which includes information on the government system along with a knowledge of, and sensitivity to traditional ways.
2. Coordination of the agencies and groups concerned with social harmony at both community and government levels, with discretionary funding provided between the various areas for use by each community.
3. Modification of present delivery channels so that smaller communities, and native people in general, can benefit from government services for recreation.

NOTES

1. Recreation is presently operated by a recreation committee accountable to Council. Education direction is provided by the local education authority, which is not accountable to Council. Economic Development and Social Services sometimes have a staff member in the community, although other times the community is serviced by a regional staff member. Nurses supply health services to the community.

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APPENDIX A

GOVERNMENT GRANTS OBTAINED BY COMMUNITIES

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GOVERNMENT GRANTS OBTAINED BY COMMUNITIES*

Ft. Franklin:

Recreation Division, GNWT

Per Capita Grant - received yearly - 1982	$2,875	
Recreation Administration - 1978	$3,000	
Community Centres Grant - 1978	$1,642	
Outdoor Facilities Grant - 1977	$2,293	(for constructing the outdoor rink)

Economic Development, GNWT

STEP Grant - 1978 (for a summer leader)

Tuktoyaktuk:

Recreation Division, GNWT

Per Capita Grant - received yearly - 1982	$3,990	
Recreation Administration Grant - 1978	$3,000	
- 1979	$3,000	
Utilities Assistance Contribution - 1977	$1,290	
Community Centres Grant - 1976	$150,000	
- 1978	$125,000	
Drum Dance Project - 1976	$630	
Economic Development, GNWT, STEP grant - 1977	$30,000	for arena construction
- 1977 (for a summer leader)		
Manpower and Immigration - Canada Works - 1977 1978	$33,750	for arena construction
LIP - 1975 (arena),		
- 1977 (Playground improvement and programming)		

*Information on these grants is very difficult to trace and/or confirm. This material should be viewed as indicative, but not inclusive of all grants received by the committee.

Inuvik:

Recreation Division, GNWT

Per Capita Grant - received yearly - 1982		$15,005	
Recreation Administration Grant - 1978		$3,000	
	- 1979	$3,000	
	- 1980-82	$5,000	yearly
Utilities Assistance Contribution - 1977		$1,340	
	- 1978	$1,780	
	- 1980	$4,466	
	- 1981	$4,424	
	- 1982	$3,393	
Community Centres Grant - 1966		$35,000	for the Community Centre
	- 1970	$75,000	for the Community Centre
	- 1978	$75,000	for an artificial ice plant
	- 1973	$75,000	
Outdoor Facilities Grant - 1969		$4,535	to build tennis courts
	- 1977	$1,800	for a ski lodge and trail light upgrading
	- 1978	$1,185	
Pool Program	- 1968	$1,100	
	- 1969	$3,000	
	- 1970	$3,100	
	- 1971	$4,700	

Recreation Director - 1972	$2,800	
- 1973	$7,800	
Recreation Travel - 1968	$1,000	
- 1972	$1,320	
Leadership and Equipment - 1970	$3,290	
- 1971	$390	

Employment and Immigration

SYEP - 1979-82 (for summer leaders)

Employment and Immigration Grant - 1977	$33,000	
- 1978	$30,300	for the ski club
STEP - 1977	$4,000	for cross country ski trails and lights

Canada Works - 1977 (construct and maintain playgrounds)

APPENDIX B

SUMMARIES OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED RECREATION PROGRAMS

ARCTIC WINTER GAMES

Years of Operation	1970 -
Origin	- Politicians in the NWT and the Yukon were concerned over the poor showing of northern athletes in national sport competitions
Frequency	- Every two years during the winter 1970 - Yellowknife, N.W.T. 1972 - Whitehorse, Yukon 1974 - Anchorage, Alaska 1976 - Shefferville, Quebec 1978 - Hay River - Pine Point, NWT 1980 - Whitehorse, Yukon 1982 - Fairbanks, Alaska 1984 - Yellowknife, NWT
Government Funding Sources	FAS: 1970 - (program established in 1970) Recreation Division: 1970 - (program established in 1970)
Organizers:	- Almost exclusively non-native in every aspect of the Games, i.e. AWG Corporation, AWG Host Society, Sport North AWG Committee and NWT Sport Associations
Participants	- Primarily from the larger, more acculturated communities - At least 2/3 of the participants on any NWT team have been non-native - events include both junior and senior participants

NORTHERN GAMES

Years of Operation	1970 -
Origin	- Individuals in Inuvik were concerned that the proposed AWG were only going to include euro-Canadian sports
Frequency	- every summer 1970 - Inuvik 1971 - Inuvik 1972 - Inuvik 1973 - Ft. Good Hope 1974 - Tuktoyaktuk 1975 - Ft. McPherson 1976 - Coppermine 1977 - Eskimo Point, Igloolik, Aklavik 1978 - Eskimo Point 1979 - Inuvik 1980 - Holman Island, Rankin Inlet 1981 - Ft. McPherson, Repulse Bay, Coppermine 1982 - Rankin Inlet, Coppermine 1983 - Aklavik
Government Funding Sources	Government Executive: 1970 (Centennial Fund) Recreation Division: 1971 (special purpose grant) Secretary of State: 1972 - (under a general program) Employment and Immigration: 1973, 1974, 1978, 1982 (under a general program) FAS: 1973-1980 (special purpose grant) Health and Welfare: 1976 (New Horizons program) DINA: 1978-1981 (under a general program)
Organizers	- Primarily native people, although the government has become directly involved in financial matters when large debts occurred. - The Recreation Division has been working with the Northern Games groups to improve their administrative approach since the GNWT began providing greatly increased funds in 1981 - The NGA began as a steering committee, but now operates through various regional associations

Participants

- Participants come from all of the Inuit communities in the northwest and central Arctic, and are almost exclusively male
- Emphasis is on children, young male adults, and older men and women

DENE GAMES

Years of Operation	1977-1979, 1981 -
Origin	- Individuals primarily from Rae-Edzo were interested in holding Games for Dene in the Southern Mackenzie region
Frequency	- Every summer 1977 - 1978 - 1979 - 1981 - Ft. Rae 1982 - Ft. Smith
Government Funding Source	- Recreation Division - 1977-1979, 1981 -
Organizers	- almost exclusively Dene
Participants	- Participants come from all of the communities (approximately 18) in the southern Mackenzie region, and are almost exclusively native - Emphasis is on children, young male adults and older men and women

TEST PROGRAM

Years of Operation	1967 -
Origin	Fr. Mouchet initiated a recreational cross-country ski program for teenagers in the Inuvik hostel which served as a pilot in getting an FAS National Fitness Council grant. This project was to assess if the motivation of native youth in their general achievement could be improved through cross-country skiing
Frequency	The program has operated every winter
Government Funding Sources	FAS: 1967-1975 Recreation Division: 1967-
Organizers	- Almost totally non-native although native skiers from the program have sometimes coached
Participants	- Participants were intially all native, and all residing in the Inuvik hostel. With the broadening of the program, native children from several of the communities initially became involved, as well as non-native youth. The majority of the NWT ski team are presently non-native

NATIVE SPORT AND RECREATION PROGRAM

Years of Operation	1972 - 1980
Origin	John Munro, the federal minister for Health and Welfare, initially suggested a demonstration project for isolated or Indian areas in the Prairies. This was realized through a five-year experimental program for Metis and Status Indians in Canada.
Frequency	The program provided funds on a year by year basis
Government Funding Source	FAS: 1972-1980
Organizers	Grants were provided to provincial/territorial native groups, many of which were political in nature. Funding was also provided to the GNWT, which used the money for leadership workshops
Participants	- Primarily native people. The evaluation report noted that the majority of the programs were geared to adult males

NWT SPORT ASSOCIATIONS

Years of Operation	1972 -
Origin	A GNWT program formally encouraging the development of NWT sport associations was started in 1972, after the integral role which sport associations play in national Games was highlighted in an internal report
Frequency	Most of the programs are awarded on a yearly basis
Government Funding Sources	- Recreation Division: 1972 - - Sport North has slowly taken over administering various GNWT sport association grants since its inception in 1976. All grants are presently administered to sport associations through Sport North
Organizers	- Almost exclusively non-native
Participants	- The majority of the recipients of sport association benefits are found in the larger, primarily euro-Canadian tax-based municipalities

COMMUNITY RECREATION SUPPORT

Years of Operation	Per Capita Grant: 1967 - Recreation Administration Grant: 1978 - Community Centres Grant: 1967 - 1983 Outdoor Facilities Grant: 1967 - 1983 Utilities Assistance Contribution: 1977 - Core Recreation Facilities Program: 1983 - Additional Facilities Recreation Program: 1983 - Community Recreation Planning Program: 1983 - Equipment Support: 1974 - 1975 Recreation Directors Grant: 1970 - 1975 Summer Recreation Directors: 1972 - 1973 Sports Clinics: 1967 - 1971 Regional Recreation Workshops: 1975 - Summer Leadership Training: 1982 - Senior Municipalities Workshops: 1975 - Above-Ground Pool Program: 1967 -
Origin	All programs have been initiated by the GNWT
Frequency	Most programs are available on a yearly basis
Government Funding Source	Recreation Division: 1967 - FAS: 1967-1980 (pool program, and leadership workshops)
Organizers	- Almost exclusively non-native. Current Recreation Division staff are all professionally trained in recreation or physical education
Participants	- All communities in the NWT

APPENDIX C

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Methodological Considerations for Further Study

This thesis sets out to identify discrepancies between government programs and community practices. Recreation in the NWT was chosen as the case study, with a particular focus on the native communities. A case study approach was taken, with three communities in the western Arctic examined. The exploratory nature of this study required that the methodology be developed as the research progressed. An outline of the itinerary for research, followed by a critique of the methods used, have been detailed for consideration by future researchers.

Itinerary:

After extensive reading on community life in the North, four months were spent in Inuvik during the summer of 1979. Volunteer work was carried out with the Northern Games Association, and the Ingamo Hall Friendship Centre. As part of a research grant, data was collected from sources in the Inuvik Research Laboratory library on traditional native games. A trip was made to the communities of Ft. Franklin, Ft. Norman, and Ft. Good Hope, to show slides taken at a 1976 workshop on Dene traditional games and promote further documentation to fill in some missing information. The Northern Games were held in Inuvik in late July. Participation at that event, as well as involvement in town recreation all summer, rounded out this initial community visit.

The second part of the field research was begun in January 1980. Two weeks were spent in Ottawa, perusing federal files for their involvement in the Northern Games, the Arctic Winter Games, the Native Sport and Recreation Program and the Territorial Experimental Ski

program. The National Indian Brotherhood office was also visited. A week was then taken in Yellowknife examining GNWT Recreation Division files, and meeting with the Sport North Executive Director.

The next month was spent collecting data in Inuvik. The Town office files were searched, as was the Inuvik Research Laboratory library. Individuals were interviewed who were involved with recreation. A Town Council meeting was attended which included some discussion on recreation. Time was also spent teaching gymnastics at the high school in a volunteer capacity, in order to contribute back to the community in some small way.

The Arctic Winter Games were held in Whitehorse in March. These Games were attended by the author. Some volunteer involvement with the mission staff contributed towards a better understanding of this festival.

A subsequent trip to Yellowknife provided another opportunity to examine Recreation Division files for pertinent data. Additional material was next collected in Inuvik, through volunteer involvement with the Top of the World Ski championship, and interviews with the staff of Grollier Hall and the Canadian Forces Station. A recreation board meeting was attended as well.

Three weeks were spent in Tuktoyaktuk in April 1980. Hamlet files were searched, and several discussions held with local people involved in recreation. Meetings of the recreation committee and council were attended. The Beluga Jamboree occurred during this visit. Time was spent attending recreation functions, and teaching gymnastics at the school in a volunteer capacity.

Ft. Franklin, the final community examined, was visited in June 1980. Hamlet files were perused, and community members questioned concerning recreation. A Dene Nation workshop on community problems occurred during this time, which was occasion for a traditional drum dance and concomitant stick gambling. Various recreation activities were attended while in the community.

A job with the RecreationDivision as their policy and planning officer began in July 1980. A major project over the following two years was the recreation facilities policy which provided exposure to the channels involved in GNWT policy development. Other responsibilities led to involvement with the Dene Games and the Northern Games, including attendance at the Dene Games and the Coppermine Northern Games in 1981. Daily exposure to circulating GNWT, federal and provincial material contributed greatly towards an understanding of these governments.

The 1982 Arctic Winter Games were held in Fairbanks, Alaska. Participation as coach for the NWT gymnastics team provided extensive exposure to the operation of this festival. Subsequent involvement in the formation of a territorial gymnastics association, including attendance at the 1982 Sport North annual general meeting completed the variety of experiences gained while in the North.

Critique of the Methodological Stages

1) Initial Review of the Literature:

Extensive readings on the areas under study are necessary to provide the researcher with a background of what to expect. One must be careful to read material from different perspectives, and to become aware of the common viewpoints which are taken. This will hopefully aid

the researcher in later identifying the perspective from which different individuals speak. This is especially important in such a study, because it is an examination of discrepancies based on different perspectives. Readings should include information on both the government system, and community lifestyles.

2) Initial Period in the North:

Field research usually requires an extended stay in a foreign environment. It is thus very important to test out one's ability to be effective in that environment. This initial period also exposes the researcher to the "reality" under study. Readings will now be compared to personal experience. The researcher begins to frame hypotheses, suitable definitions and necessary delimitations for the study. Limitations become evident. Communication networks begin to form, which will be necessary to help the researcher get through some of the difficult and/or alienating experiences ahead. It would be valuable to also have an initial visit with the government(s) under study, in order to identify sources, both human and written, and to begin to formulate descriptions of the programs. This period forces researchers to become aware of their cultural filters, and helps broaden the "vocabulary of concepts" which they will be able to draw upon when formulating their study. Personal involvement in the life of the community is important, because the subjective experiences will affect researchers whether they act as observers or participants. As participants, however, they will develop an empathy with some people, while concomitantly becoming aware of their own personal biases.

3) Formulation of the Study:

Armed with some personal experiences and a broadened vocabulary

on the subject, the researcher returns to a familiar environment -- the university -- for a period of reflection. The study is reframed in light of what has been seen. Subjective experiences, which are integral to field research, should now be subjected to the critical eye of more objective individuals in the university such as professors and graduate students. Realistic parameters are established for the problem, complete with suitable definitions and hypotheses. At this time, readings should be reviewed with a view to comparing their perspective with that of the researcher. A strategy for further field study is completed at this time. This break from the field is also important because it forces researchers who have a tendency towards "going native" to reenter the university environment and reflect on the subject from a distance once again.

4) Examination of the Government Role:

There is a lot of information available within government if the right people are approached. Civil servants must be given specific questions, and have a clear understanding of the information being sought. Researchers must be clear in their own minds of what they hope to find, although they should also be open to new directions which might be illuminated by the government employee. A clear understanding of the government hierarchy and the people in that hierarchy is a necessary prerequisite -- especially when interdepartmental issues are considered. A formal interview technique could be used here, and taped where allowed by the civil servant, so long as an informal discussion format is also used. The latter method is necessary to grasp the subtleties of the situation, and in particular the perspective of the individuals involved

in the process.

5) Second Period in the North -- Community Visits:

Researchers must always remember that they are privileged to be able to carry out field research -- a privilege bestowed by the people under study. This has been formalized in the NWT through the requirement of a license to research. Community councils must grant permission in writing to the researcher before that person can carry out research in the community. In this study, permission was obtained while present in the community. In that way, the community members could become familiar first with the researcher and her style of information gathering. Normally, however, such permission would be requested in writing before the researcher arrives.

Once in the community, time must first be spent becoming familiar with people and the lifestyle. By trial and error, the researcher learns what is permissible to participate in, and what must be respected and left alone. Unlike academics and government workers, community members are not attuned to formal interviews and filling out questionnaires. A relaxed approach and an emphasis on observation and questioning rather than written materials would be advised. Municipal files should be perused, but such material can be very sketchy. It may lead to question, however, which others in the community can answer.

Individuals who hold an identified role in the community are the easiest source for information. This group might include councillors, the secretary manager, recreation directors, teachers and the local priest. It is important to view such information in light of the perspective of each individual. The author's viewpoint should not be

determined by the informants most easily accessible. On the other hand, the limitations in the sources must be recognized. It would be almost impossible to accurately gage the views of "the guy on the street" -- especially for a neophyte in the community.

A daily journal which documents both comments on the research and personal developments is recommended. This method will help reflect the "subjective experiences" inherent in any field research. Such a record can be reread upon reentry into the academic environment, and thus help transport the researcher back into the field experience after the fact.

An interesting comment was passed on to the author while in the North. It was that "You researchers from the South come to the North and analyze people, then return South and make a name for yourself and don't benefit us at all". Each researcher should ponder this statement, and act in accordance with her/his own conscience. Suffice to say that cultures and people are different rather than inferior or superior. All cultures have much to offer. An ethnocentric researcher must learn to appreciate that informants are not to be taken for granted, or treated merely as data sources. A sensitivity to the privacy of an individual must always be respected.

6) Involvement in NWT Recreation Events:

Researchers sometimes develop an inflated view of their ability to contribute to the system under study. While participation in events under study is valuable, it must be remembered that one's primary role is as a researcher. Also, one must not expect to be embraced and praised for contributions which are made. The benefits of participating include

however, an increased familiarily with the system in operation, and oftentimes a greater access to individuals and more candid comments to questions. Documents should remain as the core source for information, with interviews and personal experiences used to clarify facts and provide a context for the material. Researchers must be wary of placing too much emphasis on their personal experiences while participating, because their views will be greatly affected by the background from which they come. Material gained through this process should be validated by individuals who are part of the process under examination.

7) Participation as a Government Employee:

The opportunity to be employed within the system under examination is rare. The two years spent as a policy officer were invaluable for the study, because it provided an opportunity to examine the workings of government as a complete participant. It is a difficult role for a researcher to play, however, because one loses the objectivity inherent in an outsider's view. It was valuable to partake of community research first, because concerns from that perspective were ingrained in the researcher. While this experience helped to expand the information gained in the community case studies to include other towns in the NWT, and to test out hypotheses on other government workers and community residents, two years seemed to be an important break point. The need became apparent at that time to return to a neutral system, in which the perspectives of both government and the communities could be examined.

8) Writing the Document:

The difficulty in using subjective experiences is that data

assumes a personality through the people whom one has met. It was very difficult to begin writing a document when a researcher is not only returning to a government job, but also facing an evaluation of the document by community members. On the other hand, this reality provides an incentive to be accurate in reporting, to validate descriptions where possible, and above all to establish the perspective which will be taken in the document. It is essential that this process occurs in a critical environment where individuals outside the systems under study can comment and/or question. The researcher must once again evaluate her/his own background and cultural filters, to ensure that one does not fall into the trap of thinking of oneself as an "expert". The perspective taken can never be more than a subjective interpretation of the researcher; thus, the researcher must take care to validate the data wherever possible.

9) Verification of the Data:

If time permits, it would be best for the researcher to complete a first draft noting weaknesses in the data, then journey back to the sources, such as the government departments and the communities, to fill in the missing links. This is especially important when some time has elapsed from the previous field work. At a minimum, the draft should be examined by individuals involved in the systems under study. People who were involved in the original data collection are often most willing to help out in this way. Once again, the perspective of those who check the data must be identified, and considered by the researcher when the comments are returned. As a final courtesy, it is imperative that those who have been the brunt of the research are provided with the completed document, and with a summary report which is easily understood. In

this way, researchers will cultivate a relationship with their subjects which will enable those who come after to start with a clean slate.

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